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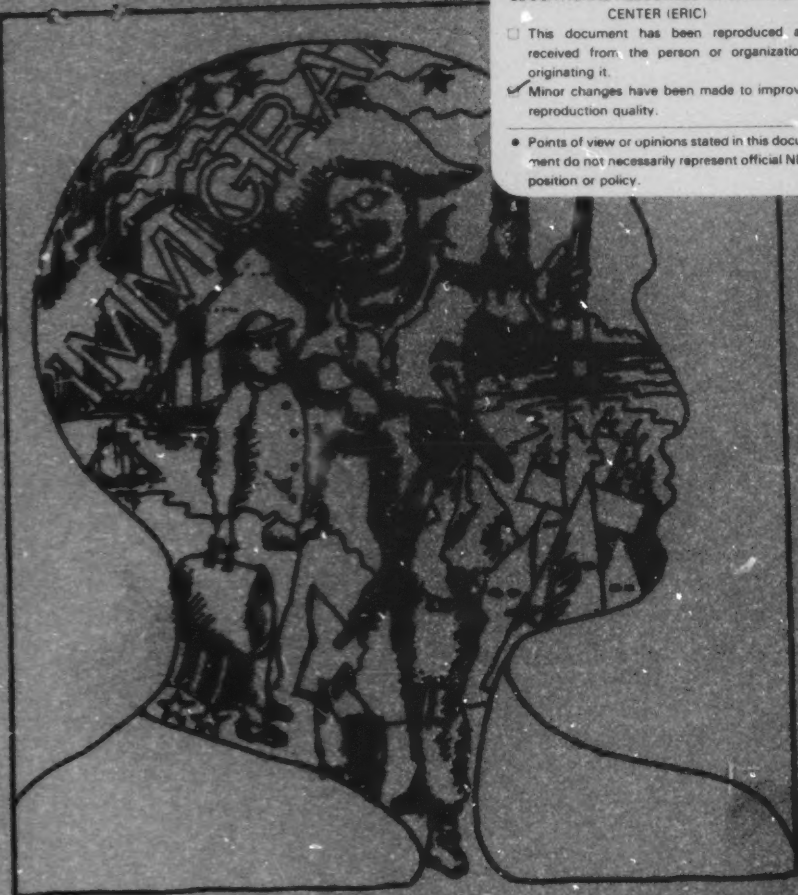
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ABSTRACT

One of a series of curriculum materials in U.S. history designed to teach critical thinking skills systematically, this teacher's guide presents high school students with supplementary lessons on the Reconstruction period, industrialism, labor and immigration, and progressivism and populism. The student booklet begins with a guide to critical thinking, which offers an explanation of types of arguments in history, examples of fallacies, a checklist for evaluating evidence, a method for analyzing value positions, ways of identifying assumptions, and models for analyzing arguments. Lesson topics include legislatures and radical Republicans in the Reconstruction era; the establishment of the Freedman's Bureau and of the Ku Klux Klan; motives of the radical Republicans; Andrew Johnson's presidency; the roles of John D. Rockefeller, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and Ulysses Grant during the industrial period; Social Darwinism; Carnegie's and Pullman's roles in labor issues; immigration; the Pullman strike; Indians and trusts; the failure of populism; progressive reforms; and the populist platform in 1892. Student booklets are keyed to detailed lesson plans in the accompanying teacher's guide. (LH)

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RECONSTRUCTION TO PROGRESSIVISM

BOOKLET 3

Critical Thinking
In
American History

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Critical Thinking in
American History:

BOOKLET 3

RECONSTRUCTION TO PROGRESSIVISM

by
KEVIN O'REILLY

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Student Booklet 3
Reconstruction to Progressivism
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INTRODUCTION FOR STUDENTS

Did you ever wonder why you study history or what you hope to learn from it? Many high school students think they study history to learn "the facts." Certainly, there is some value in studying information or "the facts." But studying the facts with no understanding is pointless. If we couldn't think about or see the connections between facts in history, then the information would be of little value. So even if you have a good memory and what you like in history is the facts, you still have to be able to think about and use them in order for facts to be any good to you.

There is more to history than information, however. There is also the "why" of history. We all would like to explain why certain things happen the way they do. When a historian studies a topic, he/she breaks it down and examines why it happened the way it did. This is called analytical history.

Another part of history arises when historians disagree. When historians have differing viewpoints or interpretations of a topic they weigh their arguments against each other. They debate in historical journals about which viewpoint is stronger. Deciding how good a historical argument is involves a lot of careful thinking. To start out, one question you might want to ask is, how good are the viewpoints presented in your textbook?

So history is a lot more than just "the facts." Most of history involves thinking. In summary, it involves three types of thinking:

1. Seeing the connections between the facts,
2. Analyzing why things happen the way they do, and
3. Evaluating historical viewpoints.

These aspects make up what we'll call historical thinking. If you ask yourself what you'd like to remember from your history course ten years from now, you'd probably agree that you'd rather know how to think better than just know some facts. The Project on History and Logic is designed to help you develop your historical thinking by analyzing historical arguments in a deliberate, organized and sequential way.

"GUIDE TO CRITICAL THINKING"

This *Guide* is intended to help you to better judge arguments that you read or hear from historians, your friends, your parents, news reporters, or other people. An argument (or an interpretation) as used in this *Guide* refers to the act of presenting a conclusion someone wishes to make and backing it up with reasons that logically lead to the conclusion. You have to decide for yourself how strong the argument is.

Arguments or interpretations are made up of three parts:

1. **Evidence** - facts or information which the author uses to back his/her points.
2. **Values** - the underlying beliefs of the author about what is good or important.
3. **Logic** (or reasoning) - the reasoning used by the author to arrive at his/her conclusions.

In a sense, the author of an argument constructs his/her position as someone might construct a building. The author's values are like the foundation, the evidence is like the bricks that comprise the walls, and the logic is like cement which holds the bricks together and forms them into a particular pattern. Just as when you look at a building you want to look at the whole structure first, so too when you look at an argument you want to get the main point (or conclusion) first. Then you want to break the argument down (analyze) into its parts and evaluate the parts against certain standards of excellence of reasoning and evidence.

I. EVIDENCE

A. What is Evidence?

Evidence is the information which a historian or author presents to support his/her argument.

It is only when we know the sources of the evidence that we can judge (evaluate) how good the evidence actually is. There are three sources for evidence:

1. *Statements by witnesses or other people.*
2. *Documents (written information).*
3. *Objects.*

B. Evidence in Arguments:

1. There are three possibilities for how a historian backs up an argument:
 - a. No evidence - when a historical argument has no evidence to support its points, you should not be convinced by it. Even if the reasoning in the argument seems very strong, you should not support the viewpoint until you see some evidence on the topic (that is, you should suspend judgment). You should always ask yourself, "What is his/her evidence?"
 - b. Factual information (sourceless evidence) - when a historian does not give the source for his/her evidence, you really have no way to judge how strong the evidence is. You might say that the historian has given **factual information** or **examples**, but not evidence. Factual information, unlike opinions, could be proven true or false (verified) if you wanted to do the research to check on it. In some cases you will want to do this. But this is different from what you do when you judge evidence for which the source is given.
 - c. Evidence - when the source of the information is given you have the opportunity to make some judgments about the evidence presented. You will always be better off by researching further to check on the evidence, but when the source is presented, you can make some judgments before you do more research. You'll know a viewpoint contains evidence (as opposed to information) when the author refers to statements by people, written information, or objects to support his/her arguments.
2. The examples below show the different possibilities for evidence:

Topic - Karen and the softball team:

- a. "Karen is a very good softball player, in fact, the best on our team." (no evidence).

- b. "Karen is the best softball player on our team. She hit .340 for the season and made only two errors playing second base." (Factual information because this information could be checked, but we have no way of judging the evidence without checking).
- c. "Karen is the best softball player on our team. Coach Berg said she was the best fielder and the scorebook shows she hit .340 for the season." (Evidence because the source is given. We could ask whether Coach Berg is a primary source, has a reason to distort, and so forth).

Topic - Reconstruction governments:

- a. "Reconstruction governments in the South were so corrupt that the South was ruined by them." (No evidence).
- b. "Reconstruction governments in the South were terribly corrupt. South Carolina's debt was increased tremendously. In Arkansas a Negro was given \$9,000 for repairing a bridge which had originally cost \$500. Other Southern states had the same thing happen." (These are examples of factual information. Statistics can be checked, but we cannot evaluate them without the source. Statistics themselves don't lie, but the people who put them down to make a point frequently distort them. We need to know who recorded these statistics, for what reason, and so forth).
- c. "Reconstruction governments in the South were terribly corrupt. For example, right in the records of the South Carolina legislature is recorded a vote to give the Speaker an extra \$1,000 to pay for his efficient service right after (according to his diary) he had lost \$1,000 on a horse race." (Evidence because the source is given - the records of the legislature and the diary).

Once you know that there is evidence you can judge it according to the following factors:

- P - Is it a **primary** (eyewitness) or **secondary** (not an eyewitness source)? (Primary is better).
- R - Does the person giving the statements or writing the documents have any **reason** to distort, cover up, give false impressions or lie? (No reason to distort is better).
- O - Are there **other** witnesses or statements of the same event which report it the same way? (Having other statements saying the same thing is better).
- P - Is it a public or **private** statement? It is public if the person giving it knew other people would hear it, or intended that other people should hear it. (Private is generally better).

So when you have identified the evidence in an argument, you can give it the **PROP** analysis. These four factors for judging evidence will be enough to help you evaluate most evidence you will see. However, there are other factors, should you need them:

A. The Witness:

1. What is the frame of reference (point of view) of the witness? What are his/her values? What is his/her background?
2. Is the witness an expert or recognized authority on what he/she saw?
3. How soon after the event did the witness report it?
4. Did the witness use precise techniques or tools to report the event? For example, did he/she take notes or use reference points?

B. The Observation Conditions:

1. Did the witness have good conditions to see the event? (Was it foggy, noisy, dark?)
2. What was the physical location of the witness to the event? Was he/she close to the action? Were there objects (i.e. buildings) blocking his/her path?

C. The Witness' Statement: (The Document)

1. Does the witness believe that his/her statement could be checked out? If I believe you can check my story with other witnesses, I am more likely to tell the truth.
2. Is what the witness says an observation ("Mary smiled") or an inference ("Mary was happy")? Since inferences are judgments they can reveal a lot to you about the witness' point of view or motives for his/her statements.
3. Is the document authentic or a forgery? What is the reputation of the source containing the document?

II. VALUES

A. What is a value?

Values are conditions which the author of an argument believes are intrinsically good, or thinks are important or worthwhile. Examples of things people value are: money, success, friendship, love, health, peace, power, freedom, equality. It is often important to discover what the underlying values are of the author of an argument. This will help you understand why the viewpoint is argued the way it is. In some cases, your values may be different from the author's values, which will help you understand why you disagree with the argument. For example, if you believe that peace is generally more important than demonstrating power, then you are going to disagree with an argument which says that since country A increased its power by attacking country B, it was right to attack.

B. Values in arguments:

1. The values of the author are revealed in an argument by words which make value judgments. Sentences containing words such as "good," "bad," "right," "wrong," "justified," "should," "should not" are usually making value judgments. For example, if someone says "The U. S. was wrong (value judgment) to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima because so many people were killed," he/she is saying that life (value) is more important than the other conditions or values involved (power, peace vs. war, etc.).

2. When you have identified a value judgment in an argument, you can then examine it by:

- a. Separating the argument into the factual and value parts.
- b. Stating the value part in a general way.
- c. Asking yourself whether this value position would be right in all instances (cases). Think of cases to see if the value would be right for them.

For example, suppose someone said:

"We should have capital punishment because criminals will commit fewer crimes if they think they might be executed (killed by the government)".

You would do the following:

- a. Factual part - "Executing criminals will cause criminals to commit fewer crimes." (Notice that this could be checked on by getting statistics on the number of crimes with and without capital punishment, or other methods). This was mentioned in the section on evidence in this "Guide."
- b. Values part stated in general terms - "Something (notice the **general** word) which causes fewer crimes should (value judgment) be done."
- c. Is this a good idea in all cases? You could bring up specific cases such as:

"Putting into jail anyone who has ever been a defendant in a criminal case, whether found innocent or guilty, will cause fewer crimes also. Should we do this?"

Now we know that just because something (capital punishment) causes fewer crimes to be committed doesn't mean that we should necessarily do it. There are other things (like rights, innocence) to consider. The

person who made the statement (if you are discussing an issue directly with him/her) might have to modify it to:

"We should have capital punishment under strict safeguards to protect innocent people, because it will make criminals commit fewer crimes."

You could now bring up new cases to get the author to examine his/her value position further.

The object of this strategy is not to embarrass or humiliate the other person but rather to get everyone to examine the value positions in more detail.

C. Other values judgments and emotional language:

Sometimes the author of an argument will use specific words (rather than "right," "wrong" etc.) to describe a situation which reveals value judgments. Again, these reveal the author's point of view or position on the things described. For example, the following two sentences tell you something about the points of view of the authors:

1. "The lazy government official needlessly interfered with the running of the dynamically expanding business."

2. "The representative of the public's interest was finally able to control the pollution of the greedy monopoly."

These are extreme examples, but they show how authors can use words to paint the good guys and the bad guys. It is not hard to see that the first author supports the business against government, and the second author supports the government against the business.

Words such as those in the two examples above and others such as "terrific," "terrible," "intellectual," "egghead," "pushy," and "go getter," show the author's point of view. You should try to identify the use of this type of emotional language.

When it appears, it shows that the author is emotionally involved in the topic (he/she may not be as objective as he/she should be) or that the author is trying to sway the reader through an emotional response. We should not be swayed to accept an argument through emotion, but rather through reasoning and evidence.

III. LOGIC OR REASONING

A. What is logic or reasoning?

Without logic or reasoning, humans would make no advances in life. Reasoning is one of the most important characteristics separating humans from animals. Logic or reasoning is the process of reaching a conclusion on the basis of available information or experience. It is the way an author tries to prove his point.

This section of the *Guide* includes information on various parts of logic or reasoning and gives you tips on what to look for in each part.

B. Main points and conclusions:

1. The first thing that you should do when you read an argument is identify the main point. The **main point** is what the author of a long argument (more than one paragraph) is trying to prove. You can't judge an argument until you first figure out what the author is trying to prove. A **conclusion** is what the author of a short argument (one paragraph or less) is trying to prove.

A premise is a statement which presents evidence or reasons for the conclusion of the argument. (It is the part other than the conclusion). We will use the word premise in the worksheets, but we are concerned mostly with finding the conclusion.

2. You can find the conclusion or a main point by asking yourself, "What is the author trying to convince me of?" You can often also locate the conclusion by using the cue words below, especially "therefore." Ask, "Therefore, what?"

3. Cue words:

Conclusions	Premises
therefore	since
then	if
so	because
thus	

C. Words:

1. As you can see in the sections on values and conclusions, the words an author uses can reveal something about his/her values, or cue you about the parts of an argument. In addition, historians should be careful to define words they use in arguments. Some words present problems when we try to define them. For example: "Bald" - how bald is bald? 100 hairs? 2 hairs? no hairs? Where a word is subject to several meanings, the historian should define how he/she is using it.
2. In some cases word usage is the key to assessing how good a historical argument is. There are some fallacies associated with words, among which are:
 - a. Jargon- the needless use of big words to make the argument sound more impressive. The key word is needless." for in some instances big words are necessary to explain the argument.
 - b. Equivocation - the use of a key term in two or more senses in the same argument. For example, "How can people oppose Communism, when we are all communists (since we all share to some extent)?"

D. Assumptions and Inferences:

1. An **assumption** is something which is not stated but which is taken for granted by the author. We will say that something which is taken for granted but is stated is not an assumption but just a statement which lacks evidence. Unstated assumptions are the middle or

general premise in an argument. You can find them by rewriting a short argument into premise-premise-conclusion form. For example, if someone said:

"We should spend our vacation in the mountains because we need a rest."

We could rephrase it as:

Premise - We need a rest.

Premise (Assumption) - Vacations in the mountains provide rests.

Conclusion - We should spend our vacation in the mountains.

Notice that the second premise is the assumption and that it is stated in general terms - "vacations."

2. An **inference** is a conclusion that goes beyond the evidence upon which it is based. It is drawn from the evidence. By knowing certain facts, we can make an educated guess or infer that something else is true. For example, if you walked into a room and there were twenty people there who yelled "surprise!" and started singing "happy birthday," you could infer that this is your birthday, that there will be a cake later, and so on. Or, if you saw a person frowning, you might infer that he/she is angry. The reasoning here is:

Premise: That person is frowning.

Premise: People who frown are angry.

Conclusion (inference): That person is angry.

The inference is the conclusion.

You need to learn to make reasonable inferences (a well-developed skill among historians) and to judge how good the inferences are that are made by historians or other authors. Many times people make incorrect inferences because of faulty assumptions.

For example:

"I knew Tom was a drinker when he told me he was Irish."

The faulty assumption that all Irishmen are drinkers led to the unwarranted (possibly incorrect) inference that Tom is a drinker.

E. Types of Reasoning Used in History:

1. There are basically five kinds of reasoning used in history. Once you can identify these types of reasoning, then you can judge them against key questions for each type. These questions will help you see strong points, find weak points, or identify downright errors (or fallacies) in logic in the argument. You need to remember that in most arguments, even short ones, there are several types of reasoning being used.

2. Types of reasoning:

- a. Comparison (Analogy) - this type of reasoning compares two similar cases and reasons that what is true for one is true for the other. Watch, sometimes, for the cue word "like" to show an analogy.

Examples:

"Harry did all his homework and got an "A" in history. If I do all my homework, I'll get an "A," too."

"Tracy set up her factory this way and it increased the speed of her assembly line. If I do the same, I'll increase the speed of my assembly line."

- b. Sample (Generalization) - this type of reasoning reasons that what is true for some part (or sample) of the group will be true for the whole group.

Examples:

A person takes a bite (sample) of pizza and says, "it's cold" (whole group).

A student who studies the corrupt Tweed Ring in New York City in the 1870's (sample - 1 case), concludes that there was a lot of corruption in American cities in the 1800's (whole group).

When you see general terms (plural nouns) like "people," "countries," "wars" consider that the author is making a generalization. How many people, countries, causes, or wars were sampled?

Two types of generalizations are called hard and soft generalizations. **Hard generalizations** deal with all (or none) of the members of a group. "All the apples have fallen off the tree." This type is disproven by one counter example (contrary case). **Soft generalizations** deal with most (or a few) of the members of a group. "Most people remember Vietnam." This is not disproven by one or even several contrary cases, but as the contrary cases add up, the generalization is weakened. Historians do some of their research on specific cases (like "White Collar Mobility in Nineteenth Century San Francisco") in order to test the worthiness of generalizations.

- c. Cause and effect - this type of reasoning argues that something caused (or will cause) or brought about - something else. This type of reasoning is involved with the **connections** between causes and effects.

Examples:

You see a flame (cause) under a pan of water, so you conclude it will boil (effect).

A historian argues that the main cause for the U. S. to enter into World War I was German submarines sinking so many ships.

A doctor sees that you have a fever and are coughing (effects) and concludes you have a virus (cause). He/she will then run tests to verify his/her reasoning.

Cue words for cause and effect reasoning are "cause," "reason for," "led to," "prevented."

d. Proof - this type of reasoning uses evidence or logic to prove the argument. Almost all arguments use some form of proof reasoning. When you cannot identify the argument as being a comparison, sample, cause and effect or debating (described below) then it probably is a proof argument. Here are several ways of using proof reasoning:

1. Using evidence (or lack of evidence) to prove the point.
2. Using authority, or appeal to a moderate view, or emotion to prove the point.
3. Eliminating alternatives to prove the point. For example, the prosecuting attorney might say, "Only Hodges and Simpson had a motive to commit the crime but Hodges was in Bermuda at the time, so Simpson must have done it." The prosecutor has eliminated alternatives to arrive at his/her conclusion.

Examples:

- (Evidence) "Records from New Orleans show that slave sales broke up many slave families."
- (Authority) "Mrs. Harney, a recognized expert on this subject, has shown that social class is not the most important reason."
- (Eliminating Alternatives) "As has been shown, social class was not the key to voting behavior. Moreover, people did not vote based on issues or the candidates' personalities. This leaves only religious and ethnic factors to explain voting patterns." (Notice that this also uses cause and effect and sample reasoning, and that all the alternatives have not been eliminated).

e. Debating - this type of reasoning refers to or talks about what another person (historian in an issue on history) said about the same topic.

It basically tells you what the other people said, and gives you an argument about why the other people are wrong or partially wrong. Debating is done quite frequently at the beginning of articles in historical journals. The authors of the articles then go on to use the other four types of reasoning to show why their arguments should be accepted.

Example:

"The theory that the U. S. entered into World War I to make the world safe for democracy is weak for several reasons."

("The theory" refers to another viewpoint by a different historian.)

F. Key Questions:

1. For each type of reasoning there are key questions which will help you to judge how good the reasoning is.

2. Key questions for each type of reasoning:

a. Comparison (Analogy):

Are the two cases compared similar enough to make the conclusion a good one?

b. Sample (Generalization):

Is the sample a good one? Is it large enough or representative enough to make the conclusion a good one?

c. Cause and effect:

Does the author really show the connection between the cause and the effect? Has the author considered all the possible connections or causes?

d. Proof:

Does the evidence or the argument make the conclusion a good one? Have all the alternatives been eliminated in this type of reasoning?

e. Debating:

Does the author of this argument give good enough reasons for disproving, or weakening the other argument? Does he/she attack the other view in a fair way?

G. Fallacies in History:

1. Once you have identified the types of reasoning involved in an argument and asked yourself the key questions for the types of reasoning involved, you can get an idea of some of the strengths and weaknesses of the argument. From there you can also identify any fallacies (errors in logic) that might have been involved in the argument. The fallacies below are arranged according to the five types of reasoning. All you have to do is look under the types of reasoning you've identified in order to find the possible fallacies involved. For example, if you've concluded that the argument you're analyzing is a combination of sample and cause and effect reasoning, you would ask the key questions for those two types and then look at the fallacies under those two types only.

2. Fallacies (or errors) in reasoning:

a. Comparison (Analogy) Fallacies:

No specific fallacies. The key question takes care of the fallacies.

b. Sample (Generalization) Fallacies:

1. **Unrepresentative Sample (or Hasty Generalization)** - A conclusion based on a sample which has too few examples or which does not represent the whole group well. This includes oversimplifications, such as "If it were not for bankers, we wouldn't have wars."

Example:

A reporter asks three people in Massachusetts if they support gun control. They all answer yes. So he/she concludes, "Everyone in Massachusetts supports gun control."

Sometimes only a single case is used to make a generalization. Watch for "for example," or "for instance."

2. Stereotyping (or Composition or Division)

A conclusion in which the characteristics of some portion of the group are assumed to be true for everyone (or everything) in the group.

Examples:

"You're Jewish, so you must be well educated."

"He's a member of a good law firm, so he must be a good lawyer."

"They all are good singers, so they'll be a good quartet."

3. **Special Pleading** - A conclusion based on bringing out the factual information favorable to the author's arguments, but leaving out the information which is not favorable. Be careful not to overdo this fallacy. Historians always have to leave out some information, but this doesn't mean they've committed special pleading. What we want to know is whether the historian has left out evidence contrary (opposite) to his/her theory, or whether the historian has included it and overcome it with better evidence or reasoning.

Examples:

"Mom, I should be able to go to the dance. I passed my history test, and got an 'A' in math."
(But, he failed the science test, which he didn't tell his mom).

"The U. S. has always won her wars. Look at the Spanish American War, World War I, and World War II." (But this leaves out the War of 1812 and Vietnam).

c. Cause and Effect Fallacies:

1. **Single Cause** - A conclusion that an event had one cause when in reality more than one cause was involved. Giving an event one cause oversimplifies history. Be careful not to overdo this fallacy. Sometimes a historian asserts that something was the cause of an event, but he/she really means that it was the main cause.

Example:

"The explosion of the battleship 'Maine' caused the Spanish-American War."

2. **Preceding Event as Cause (Post Hoc Ergo Propter Hoc)** -

A conclusion that if event B happened after event A, then A caused B.

Examples:

"I washed my car, so naturally it rained."

"General Grant was appointed commander of the Union troops. After this, the North started to win."

3. Correlation As Cause -

A conclusion that if A and B occurred at the same time, or regularly at the same time (a correlation), then one caused the other. Historians deal frequently with correlations when they cannot show the connection between a supposed cause and effect. Ideally, we would like to see the connection, but oftentimes correlations are very strong. For example, since doctors have not shown how cigarette smoking leads to lung cancer (they haven't shown the connection) they haven't proven that it causes the cancer. Yet the correlation between cigarette smoking and lung cancer is so strong that almost everyone believes that cigarettes do cause it.

Examples:

"Democrats were President during World War I, World War II, and Korea. The Democrats cause wars."

"Presidents elected in years ending in zero (i.e. 1860) died in office. So, the years they were elected caused their deaths."

d. Proof Fallacies:

1. **Irrelevant Proof** - A conclusion based on an argument which is not relevant to the topic.

Examples:

Student to teacher, "If you flunk me, I'll lose my scholarship."

Child to parent, "Everyone else does it."

Historian, "Governor Billing was not such a bad governor. He was good to his children, and he went to church every Sunday."

2. **Negative Proof** - A conclusion based on the absence (lack) of evidence to support some other theory (argument).

Example:

"There is no evidence that Senator Mæcklem was an honest woman, therefore she was a thief."

3. **Numbers** - A conclusion that this argument must be right since there is so much evidence to back it up. But don't go overboard on this fallacy, because generally an argument with more evidence is strengthened.

Example:

"We have so much evidence from these records that we must be right."

4. **Appeal to Authority** - A conclusion that this argument is right because it is based on the support of an expert. Again, you have to be careful, since using authorities to support a theory generally strengthens the theory. This is why doctors are called to testify in court cases involving medical injuries. However, sometimes authors depend too much on experts and not enough on evidence to prove their points. Also, sometimes the experts are not expert on the particular topic about which the author is arguing.

Example:

Bruce Jenner urging us to eat a certain brand of cereal.

5. **Appeal to the Golden Mean** - A conclusion that this argument is right because it is moderate (between the extreme views), or it takes in all the other viewpoints. Remember that extreme views can be right. Many ideas that we now accept as reasonable were once considered extreme. For example, it was once considered an extreme view to be in favor of women voting.

Examples:

"Some people say that Adolph Hitler was the greatest leader ever and some people say he was one of the most evil men who ever lived. So, he must have been an OK person - with some good and some bad points."

"The ideal highway speed is 45 miles per hour because it is between the crazy speeder and the slow poke."

6. **False Scenario** - A conclusion based on an argument that if something had happened, then something else would have happened (or if something had not happened, then something else would not have happened, and so forth). Scenarios can be reasonable if there is a lot of evidence to support them, but scenarios are weak. Watch for the cue word "if," although not all statements with "if" are scenarios.

Example:

"If we had not built railroads in the late nineteenth century, the U.S. would not have had as much economic growth."

7. **Either-Or** - A conclusion that since A and B were the only possible explanations and since A was not possible, B is proven to be the explanation. This method of arguing (eliminating alternatives) is acceptable, as was shown above in the explanation of proof reasoning. The problem is when the two alternatives were not the only choices available. Couldn't it be both, neither, or something else?

Example:

Book title "The Colonists: Dreamers or Idiots?"

8. **Begging the Question (Circular Argument)** - A conclusion which is based on a premise, but the premise is also based on the conclusion.

Example:

"Author A is a better writer than author B because people with good literary taste prefer A. We know those people have good literary taste because they read author A."

9. **Prevalent Proof** - A conclusion that something is right because everyone knows it is right.

Example:

(From the Middle Ages) "Everyone knows the sun goes around the earth."

c. Debating Fallacies:

1. **Attacking the Arguer (Ad Hominem)** - A conclusion that the opposing viewpoint is wrong because of the person making the argument.

Example:

"No one should listen to what Mr. Warren says. He's a Communist."

2. **Straw Man** - A conclusion that the opposing viewpoint is wrong based on an attack of what the opponent did not say. It is the technique of adding to or changing what an opponent has said, and then attacking your version of what he/she said.

Example:

Jones: "I'm opposed to capital punishment."

Thibedeau: "People like you who oppose punishing criminals make me sick." (Jones didn't say he opposed punishing criminals.)

3. **Appeal to Irrelevant Outcome** - A conclusion that an opposing viewpoint is wrong because the person making the argument would really not want the outcome or consequences of his/her position.

Example:

Historian: "I wonder if those historians who feel America was wrong in the Mexican War would want to give back all the land the U.S. gained from the War." (This is irrelevant to whether the U.S. was right or wrong.)

IV. MODELS FOR ANALYZING ARGUMENTS

- A. For written arguments use **MARKER**: (Remember that key words - such as value words - can help you identify several of the parts of an argument.)

M - Find the main point.

- A - Locate any **assumptions** the author makes. Include in these values and value judgments.

- R - Identify the types of **reasoning** used by the author in the different parts of the argument.
 - K - Apply the **key questions** to the types of reasoning you found. How well does the author answer these questions? These key questions may also help you to identify fallacies in the argument.
 - E - Look for the **evidence** the author uses to support his points. If there is no evidence, be sure to note that. If the author uses factual information (sourceless evidence) instead of evidence, write that down and add any comments. If the author has evidence, evaluate it according to PROP or the other factors for judging evidence. If the author includes a lot of evidence, evaluate only the two or three pieces of evidence that support the most important arguments. You must evaluate specific pieces of evidence if there is evidence presented in the argument.
 - R - Think of any **relevant information** that you know of on this issue. Do the points made in this argument square with what you already know on the topic? Do the points seem to make sense based on your own experiences?
- B. For films use PIPE: (Remember that what we are evaluating here is the arguments made by the film. We are not judging it according to literary or technical standards).
- P - Find the **point of view** of the film. Watch for parts of the film which seem to make value judgments. Does the point of view support or attack a point of view which you already know of on this topic?
 - I - Watch for any **inferences** made in the film. What parts of the film could the author (filmmaker) not have known from the evidence available on this topic, but rather had to guess at or infer. For example, suppose two characters in the film have a private discussion in a bedroom. If neither of these figures ever actually wrote about what he/she thought or talked about, then you might conclude that the author of the film made up this conversation. The conversation may reveal the author's opinions, bias, or point of view.

P - Think about **persuasive techniques** used in the film.

How does the film use music, camera angles, character portrayal (i.e. good guys and bad guys), and so forth? Are these aspects of the film meant to persuade the viewer to a certain point of view? For example, if a film on industrialists played lively cheerful music every time an industrialist was shown, you might conclude that the filmmaker was favorable to the industrialists.

E - Identify any **evidence** used in the film to support its arguments. What evidence is presented and how good is it? When we say evidence we mean specific evidence used to support specific arguments. We do not mean the statement at the beginning of some films that it is "based on fact." It is very difficult to present evidence in a film. Nevertheless, just as you should not be persuaded by written arguments having no evidence to back them up, you should not be unduly influenced by films having no evidence to back them up.

RC - 1A RECONSTRUCTION

- A. (I) "In many of the Reconstruction legislatures, some of the officeholders were uneducated, ignorant former slaves. (II) Therefore, the Reconstruction legislatures must have been corrupt."

- ____1. The conclusion is:
A. I C. Former slaves had no business in the legislatures.
B. II D. Reconstruction was a bad time in American history.
- ____2. What word makes a value judgment?
A. Legislatures C. Ignorant
B. Slaves D. Officeholders
- ____3. What is the assumption? (Remember: Assumptions are unstated.)
A. Reconstruction legislatures were corrupt.
B. Former slaves should not be officeholders.
C. Having uneducated, ignorant people in government leads to corruption.
D. Having a corrupt legislature leads to financial bankruptcy for the state.

- B. (I) "Thaddeus Stevens was just trying to get black voters to support the Republicans (II) when he recommended the policy of dividing up the plantations to give to the blacks. (III) Therefore, he was recommending this for the wrong motives."

- ____4. What is the conclusion?
A. I C. III
B. II D. Blacks were to get the plantations.
- ____5. What is an assumption?
A. Politicians who recommend new policies from which some people will benefit are interested in getting votes from these people.
B. Blacks were interested in trading votes for land.
C. Republicans supported Steven's policy of dividing up land.
D. Democrats disliked Stevens.

- C. (I) "The Radical Republicans were correct in trying to protect the freed blacks from being left to the control of the

RC - 1A RECONSTRUCTION

Southern whites. (II) When Radical control ended and Southern whites took over, (III) blacks were no longer allowed to vote."

- ___6. The conclusion is:
A. I C. III
B. II D. Southern whites mistreated blacks.
- ___7. What type of reasoning is this?
A. Proof C. Sample E. Debating
B. Comparison D. Cause and Effect
- ___8. What word makes a value judgment?
A. Freed C. Allowed E. Vote
B. Correct D. Protect

D. (I) Lincoln was a much better statesman than Andrew Johnson. (II) If Lincoln had lived the moderate Reconstruction program would have been adopted, (III) and it would have worked better than the Radical program. (IV) Johnson botched the whole program by antagonizing the Radical Republicans. (V) So, you can see, it's too bad for the country that Lincoln was killed in 1865.

- ___9. What is the conclusion?
A. I C. II E. V
B. II D. IV

- ___10. What is an assumption? (Assumptions are unstated).
A. A better statesman can get policies through.
B. The country was hurt by Lincoln's untimely death.
C. The Radical program was not designed to help the South.
D. None of the above.

E. What is your textbook's basic judgment about Reconstruction?

- ___11. Is it more sympathetic to:
A. Radical Republicans C. Southern blacks
B. Southern whites

12. Cite the page and evidence here:

RC - 1B RECONSTRUCTION

- A. (I) "Of course the Reconstruction legislatures were corrupt. (II) Many of the officeholders were uneducated, ignorant former slaves."

- ____1. The conclusion is:
A. I C. Former slaves had no business in the legislatures.
B. II D. Reconstruction was a bad time in American history.
- ____2. What word makes a value judgment?
A. Legislatures C. Ignorant
B. Slaves D. Officeholders
- ____3. What is the assumption?
A. Reconstruction legislatures were corrupt.
B. Former slaves should not be officeholders.
C. Having uneducated, ignorant people in government leads to corruption.
D. Having a corrupt legislature leads to financial bankruptcy for the state.

- B. (I) "Thaddeus Stevens was just trying to get black voters to support the Republicans (II) when he advocated the policy of dividing up plantations to give to the blacks. (III) Therefore, he was advocating this for the wrong motives."

- ____4. What is the conclusion?
A. I C. III
B. II D. Blacks were to get the plantations.
- ____5. What is the assumption?
A. Politicians who advocate new policies are interested in getting votes.
B. Blacks were interested in trading votes for land.
C. Republicans supported Steven's policy of dividing up land.
D. Democrats disliked Stevens.

- C. (I) "The Radical Republicans were correct in trying to protect the freed blacks from being left to the control of the Southern whites. (II) When Radical control ended and Southern whites took over, (III) blacks were no longer allowed to vote."

RC - 1B RECONSTRUCTION

- ___6. The conclusion is:
A. I C. III
B. II D. Southern whites mistreated blacks.
- ___7. What type of reasoning is this?
A. Analogy (comparison) C. Cause and Effect
B. Generalization (sample) D. Proof
E. Debating
- ___8. What word makes a value judgment?
A. Freed C. Allowed E. Vote
B. Correct D. Protect
- ___9. What is a possible fallacy?
A. Either/or D. Single cause
B. Straw man E. Negative proof
C. Post hoc ergo propter hoc F. No fallacy
- D. (I) Lincoln was a much better statesman than Andrew Johnson. (II) If Lincoln had lived the moderate Reconstruction program would have been adopted, (III) and it would have worked better than the Radical program. (IV) Johnson botched the whole program by antagonizing the Radical Republicans. (V) So, you can see, it's too bad for the country that Lincoln was killed in 1865.
- ___10. What is the conclusion?
A. I C. III E. V
B. II D. IV
- ___11. What is an assumption?
A. A better statesman can get policies through.
B. The country was hurt by Lincoln's untimely death.
C. The Radical program was not designed to help the South.
D. None of the above.
- ___12. What type of reasoning is this?
A. Analogy (comparison) C. Cause and Effect
B. Generalization (sample) D. Proof E. Debating
- ___13. What is a possible fallacy?
A. Single cause C. False scenario.
B. Misrepresentative sample D. Appeal to consequences
E. No fallacy

RC - 1B RECONSTRUCTION

E. What is your textbook's basic judgment about Reconstruction?

- ____ 14. Is it more sympathetic to :
- A. Radical Republicans
 - B. Southern whites
 - C. Southern blacks

15. Cite the page and evidence here:

RC - 2 RECONSTRUCTION

- A. (I) "Because it helped freed blacks in many ways, (II) the Freedmen's Bureau was really a worthwhile agency. (III) The freedmen certainly liked it, and even some Southern whites admitted that it worked well."

- ____ 1. What is the conclusion?
A. I C. III
B. II D. None of the above
- ____ 2. What is a possible fallacy?
A. Special pleading C. Post hoc ergo propter hoc
B. Ad Hominem D. Composition
E. No fallacy

- B. (I) "Since Southern whites couldn't participate in the legal government in the South during Reconstruction, (II) they were justified in trying to control the South by intimidation through the Ku Klux Klan. (III) After all, this was the only choice left."

- ____ 3. What is the conclusion?
A. I C. III
B. II D. Illegal government is always wrong.
- ____ 4. What term makes a value judgment?
- ____ 5. What type of reasoning is this?
A. Analogy (comparison) C. Cause and Effect
B. Generalization (sample) D. Proof
E. Debating
- ____ 6. What is a possible fallacy?
A. Negative Proof D. Stereotype
B. Correlation as cause E. False issue
C. Either/or F. No fallacy

- C. (I) "All accidents are caused by poor drivers, (II) so most of them are caused by women drivers."

- ____ 7. The conclusion is:
A. I C. Drivers should be more careful.
B. II D. Women should stay in the home where they belong.
8. What is the assumption?

RC - 3A RECONSTRUCTION

Question: Why did the Radical Republicans (including carpet-baggers and scalawags) try to help the blacks in the South during Reconstruction?

Historian A

(I) Some historians say that the Radical Republicans were good people who really wanted to help the blacks in the South during Reconstruction. (II) However, those historians are wrong. (III) Actually, the Republicans passed laws protecting the blacks to help themselves. (IV) Most of them didn't really care about the blacks at all. (V) They just figured that they could get a lot of money and black votes by pretending to help the freedmen. (VI) The Radicals set up (with the voting support of the blacks) corrupt governments in the South which stole money like crazy. (VII) For example, a Congressional Committee reported that one of the leading governors in the South made over \$100,000 during his first year in office though his salary was \$8,000. (VIII) This corruption caused the South to stay rundown for years afterward. (IX) It's pretty obvious that the Radical Republicans were out to help themselves, not the Southern blacks.

Historian B

(I) Some historians say that the Radical Republicans were evil men who were out to help themselves, rather than the blacks. (II) No one should listen to that ridiculous view, however, because it makes our government look bad - it's unpatriotic. (III) When one takes a closer look at the charges of corruption in Radical governments in the South during Reconstruction, he/she sees that there wasn't very much corruption. (IV) Most of the big spending in the South was not due to corruption, but rather was for railroad construction, better education, and rebuilding the area. (V) It is obvious, moreover, that the Radical Republicans really did want to help the blacks. (VI) Many of the Radicals had been abolitionists (people who wanted slavery to end) before the Civil War, so naturally they would still want to help the blacks after the war. (VII) It's true that many blacks voted for the Republicans because they were grateful for Republican help. (VIII) However, that doesn't mean that the Republicans helped the blacks just to get their votes. (IX) An objective, unbiased view of the Reconstruction shows that the Radicals really wanted to help the blacks, not themselves.

RC - 3A RECONSTRUCTION

Question Sheet for Historians

Historian A

1. What is the main point of Historian A's argument?
(Where can you put "so" or "therefore"?)
2. For each of the sentences below you are to write in the type of reasoning (proof, comparison, sample, cause and effect, or debating), the key question for that type of reasoning (look in the *Guide to Critical Thinking*) and what, if anything, is wrong with the reasoning. The first one is done for you to show you how to do it.

Sentence(s)	Type of Reasoning	Key Question	Anything wrong with this reasoning?
a. I & II	Debating ("Some Historians")	Does he/she attack the other historian's argument in a fair way?	It seems fair enough. He tries to disprove the argument, with his/her own counter-arguments.
b. IV			
c. VIII			

RC - 3A RECONSTRUCTION

3. In which sentence does Historian A offer evidence to support his argument? (Remember, evidence is statements by witnesses, written documents, or objects.)

4. What is one thing you would want to know to better judge how good this argument is?

RC - 3A RECONSTRUCTION

Question Sheet for Historians

Historian B

5. What is the main point of Historian B's argument?
6. For the sentences below write in the type of reasoning, key question and what, if anything, is wrong with the reasoning.

Sentence(s)	Type of Reasoning	Key Question	Anything wrong with this reasoning?
a. I & II			
b. IV			
c. VI			

7. In which sentence does Historian B offer evidence to support his argument? (You did this in question #3.)
8. What is one thing you would want to know to better judge how good this argument is? (You did this in question #4.)
9. What is a value word in sentence IX?

RC - 3B RECONSTRUCTION

Historian A

(I) Northern "carpetbaggers," working with Southern "scalawags," came to the South after the Civil War to take advantage of the terrible situation there. (II) The carpetbaggers wanted to make money and seize political power for the Republican Party. (III) The scalawags wanted power and money for themselves.

(IV) Under the radical governments of the carpetbaggers and scalawags, blacks could vote, but many wealthy whites (plantation owners) could not. (V) As a result, elections in the South were a farce. (VI) Thousands of ignorant, irresponsible blacks, directed by their white bosses, voted without knowing even the names of the men for whom they were voting.

(VII) The Northern Radicals were lying when they said they wanted Negroes to vote and hold office in the name of justice. (VIII) This is shown when one notices that few of the Northern states allowed the Negroes to vote and none ever promoted a Negro into any office.

(IX) The South was now plunged by this misgovernment into corruption and plundering beyond belief. (X) Radical Republican Legislatures, supported by military power, piled up expenses against their poor states to fantastic heights. (XI) In Florida the cost of printing in 1869 was more than the entire cost of the state government in 1860. (XII) In Arkansas a Negro was given \$9,000 for repairing a bridge which had originally cost \$500. (XIII) In South Carolina the legislature voted extra pay of \$1,000 to the Speaker for his efficient service when he lost \$1,000 on a horse race.

(XIV) A Congressional Committee reported that one of the leading carpetbag governors made over \$100,000 during his first year though his salary was \$8,000. (XV) Another carpetbag governor was charged with stealing and selling the food of the Freedmen's Bureau intended for the relief of helpless and ragged ex-slaves. (XVI) F.J. Moses, scalawag, stated that he received \$15,000 while governor of South Carolina for approving a large printing bill.

RC - 3B RECONSTRUCTION

Historian B

(I) Other historians have exaggerated the reckless spending of the Radical Republican governments in the South after the Civil War. (II) When one looks at who benefited from this spending he notices that only a few of the Negro and white radical leaders profited personally. (III) What they stole amounted to only a small fraction of the increased debts of the southern states.

(IV) The people who profited most from the bribes were the southern construction contractors, business investors, and railroad promoters. (V) Most of the debt increases in southern states resulted from grants and guarantees to railroad promoters, among whom there were always some native white Democrats. (VI) In Florida, more than 60 % of the debt was from railroad bonds. (VII) Most of Alabama's reconstruction debt — \$18,000,000 out of \$20,500,000 — was from state bonds to assist railroads with money.

(VIII) White Democrats in several states greatly exaggerated the actual increase in the size of the state debts. (IX) In Mississippi the Democrats claimed the radicals had added \$20,000,000 to the state debt, when it was, in fact, only \$500,000. (X) The claim by Democrats of the debt increase for Alabama was \$30,000,000 when it was only \$2,500,000. (XI) In most other states, when loans to the railroads were subtracted, the increases in state debts for which radicals were responsible appear far smaller. (XII) Thus, a good deal of white planter protest against alleged corruption in the radical government was really against radical tax policies, which made them pay their fair share.

(XIV) As a matter of fact, taxes, government spending, and public debts were bound to increase in the southern states after the war no matter who controlled them. (XV) For there was no way to escape the cost of physical reconstruction—the repair of buildings, etc. (XVI) And much of this physical reconstruction took place while radicals were in office. (XVII) They expanded the state railroad systems, increased public services, and provided public school systems — in some states

RC - 3B RECONSTRUCTION

for the first time. (XVIII) Since schools and other public services provided for Negroes as well as for whites, a considerable increase in the cost of state government could hardly have been avoided. (XIX) In Florida, between 1869 and 1873, the number of children in public school tripled, while in South Carolina the number quadrupled.

(XX) Thus radical rule, in spite of its shortcomings, made substantial achievements, too many to simply equate it with incompetence and corruption. (XXI) In Mississippi the radicals had a remarkably good record. (XXII) They had two honest and able governors, and according to Vernon L. Wharton, achieved a system of public education better than any the state had known before, among other achievements. (XXIII) Mississippi was the best-governed state in the postwar South -- it had no major political scandal. (XXIV) Yet, white conservatives attacked the radical regime in Mississippi as violently as they did in South Carolina, which suggests that their basic complaint was not corruption but race policy. (XXV) Finally, granting all their mistakes, the radical governments were by far the most democratic the South had ever known. (XXVI) They were the only governments in southern history to extend to Negroes complete civil and political equality. (XXVII) When the Southern whites took over again, the Negroes lost these rights for another century.

RC - 4 RECONSTRUCTION

Part 1 - Evaluating Evidence

Indicate which of the three statements in each group you think is the most accurate or in which you would have the most confidence.

1. How wide is the road?
— A. John measured the width of the road with a string and then measured the string.
B. Joe measured the width of the road with a 25-foot tape rule.
C. Jay measured the width of the road with a yardstick.
2. How did the car accident happen?
— A. Joan said she saw a car accident at the corner.
B. John said he heard there was a car accident at the corner of Main and Maple.
C. Joe said his mother said she saw a car accident at the corner of Main and Maple.
3. What was the winning time in the race?
— A. Mary timed the race with her watch.
B. Meg timed the race with her watch with a sweep second hand.
C. Martha timed the race with a stop watch.
4. What was Andrew Johnson's trial like?
— A. A Senator who supported President Andrew Johnson said the trial had a circus atmosphere.
B. Thaddeus Stevens described the trial as a very dignified one.
C. A British journalist who saw the trial described it as a fascinating drama.
5. Where was the assassin when he killed President Lincoln?
— A. Major Rathbone, who was sitting in President Lincoln's box, said, "The assassin held the gun about ten inches from the President's head as he fired."
B. Mrs. Lincoln, also in the President's box, said, "The assassin fired from about three feet."
C. An actor who glanced from the stage to the President's box said, "Booth held the gun against the President's head and fired."

RC - 4 RECONSTRUCTION

Part II - An inference is a judgment or conclusion which goes beyond the evidence upon which it is based. For example, if you said "Hi, Tom" and he tried to punch you, you might think he's angry with you.

The evidence is his trying to punch you. The inference is that he's angry with you. It is a conclusion drawn from his actions (the evidence).

Write an inference for the statements below: (There might be more than one for each statement).

6. You see three fire engines going by very fast with their sirens going.

Inference:

7. President Andrew Johnson vetoed the Tenure of Office Act.

Inference:

8. In the 1868 election the Democratic Party took a position in favor of "cheap money" - that is, for having more money in the economy (which would increase prices, and make the money worth less).

Inference:

9. After 1865 many plantation owners sold portions of their plantations to independent farmers.

Inference:

10. Moose Kelly was the hero of last night's game. He hit 2 home runs, walked twice, and stole second base 3 times.

How many inferences can you make?

I - 1 INDUSTRIALISM

- A. Judge the following evidence according to the questions below:

Bill and Terry are the only two people in the jewelry section of the store when some jewelry is discovered missing. The security guard stops them and asks Bill if he stole the jewelry. Bill says, "No, it was Terry."

1. Does Bill have a reason to distort his answer?_____
2. Is Bill a primary or secondary source?_____
3. Is there other evidence supporting Bill's view?_____
4. How reliable is Bill's evidence?
5. How could you check on it further?

- B. Judge the following evidence according to the evidence below:

We want to know if John D. Rockefeller was immoral and bad for the country in his business dealings. Ida Tarbell (a writer) criticized Rockefeller for being immoral and hurting the country. Rockefeller said he never did anything immoral and he helped the country by eliminating wasteful competition.

1. Does Rockefeller have a reason to distort his answer?____
2. Who has more reason to distort, Rockefeller or Tarbell?_____
3. Is Rockefeller a primary source?_____
4. Is Tarbell a primary source?_____
5. Is there other evidence here supporting Rockefeller's view?_____
6. Is Rockefeller's or Tarbell's evidence more reliable? Why?
7. How could you check on this evidence further?

I - 2 INDUSTRIALISM

- A. Adam Smith: (I) "Each individual will further his own interest to the best of his ability. (II) The result is that all individuals together—the society as a whole—thereby achieve maximum economic advance."

- _____1. The conclusion is:
A. I C. People should work hard.
B. II D. Societies should advance.
- _____2. What type of reasoning is this?
A. Analogy D. Proof
B. Generalization E. Debating
C. Cause and Effect
- _____3. What is a possible fallacy?
A. Composition D. Prevalent proof
B. Straw man E. No fallacy
C. Either/or

- B. John Stuart Mill: (I) "Each person's happiness is a good to that person, (II) and the general happiness, therefore, a good to the aggregate of all persons."

- _____4. What is the conclusion?
A. I C. People should consider other people's happiness.
B. II D. A good to a person is like a good to all people.
- _____5. What type of reasoning is this?
A. Analogy D. Proof
B. Generalization E. Debating
C. Cause and Effect
- _____6. What is a possible fallacy?
A. Appeal to authority D. Prevalent proof
B. Numbers E. No fallacy
C. Composition
7. How do these two arguments (A and B) compare?
Are they equally good (or bad)?

I - 2 INDUSTRIALISM

C. (I) "I wouldn't trust him. (II) He's an ex-convict."

____8. What is the conclusion?

- A. I C. Convicts are dangerous.
B. II D. None

9. What is the assumption?

I-3A INDUSTRIALISM

- I. Write each of the following arguments out in premise-premise-conclusion form. Remember that the second premise is often not stated in arguments and that when you write it, you should put it in general terms. The first one is done for you.

- A. "The four victims must have been driving fast. After all, they were teenagers."

Premise: The victims were teenagers.

Premise: All teenagers drive fast.

Conclusion: Therefore, the victims must have been driving fast.

- B. "No more than five of them can escape since there are only five passports."

Premise:

Premise: Only people with passports can escape.

Conclusion:

- C. "The power of the trusts (monopolies) is growing rapidly and it is ruining our democracy. So, trusts should be outlawed in the U.S."

Premise:

Premise:

Conclusion:

- D. "Ulysses Grant was a great president. He tried to help the country and he had been a very good general."

Premise:

Premise:

Conclusion:

I - 3A INDUSTRIALISM

II. You will recall that an assumption is something which is taken for granted, is unstated in the argument, and is to be written out in general terms. For instance, in Example A, the second premise ("All teenagers drive fast") is the assumption. What is the assumption in:

A. Example C?

B. Example D?

III. What is the fallacy in: (Use your *Guide to Critical Thinking*)

A. Example A?

B. Example D?

I - 3B INDUSTRIALISM

- I. Write each of the following arguments out in premise-premise conclusion form. Remember that the second premise is often not stated in arguments and that when you write it, you should put it in general terms. The first one is done for you.

- A. "The four victims must have been driving fast. After all, they were teenagers."

Premise: The victims were teenagers.

Premise: All teenagers drive fast.

Conclusion: Therefore, the victims must have been driving fast.

- B. "No more than five of them can escape since there are only five passports."

1. Premise:

2. Premise:

3. Conclusion:

4. What is the unstated assumption in this argument?

5. What type of reasoning is used in this argument?

- C. "The power of the trusts (monopolies) is growing rapidly and it is ruining our democracy. Trusts should be outlawed in the U.S."

6. Premise:

7. Premise:

8. Conclusion:

9. What is the unstated assumption?

10. What is one word which needs to be defined? (i.e. it is unclear)

11. What is one thing in which the author of this argument probably believes (what is one of his/her values)?

I-3B INDUSTRIALISM

- D. "President Grant's entire cabinet was corrupt. His Vice-President received shares of stock illegally; his Secretary of the War accepted bribes; and the Secretary of the Interior was illegally involved with land speculators."

12. Premise:

13. Premise:

14. Conclusion:

15. What are two types of reasoning used in this argument?

a.

b.

16. What is a possible weakness (or fallacy) in this argument?

I - 4 INDUSTRIALISM

VIEWPOINTS BY THINKERS

(All the evidence below was summarized by the author of this booklet. In some cases ideas were added here that were only implied by these thinkers.)

#1 - Adam Smith (From *The Wealth of Nations*)

Self-interest is what motivates people to do things. Each individual knows much better than the government what is best for himself. To further his economic self-interest each person sells his labor or produces goods that people want to buy. No one sells unless he feels he is getting the best (highest) price, under the circumstances, that he can get. No one buys unless he feels he is paying the lowest price he can pay under the circumstances. Therefore, every sale in the marketplace is a transaction in which both people (or many people) feel they have increased their self-interest. (If they did not, they wouldn't have bought or sold). In this way, by each person doing what he thinks is best in the marketplace for his own self-interest, the general welfare of all the people in society is improved.

Moreover, the marketplace is extremely efficient, since it reacts immediately to changes in demand and supply. Government can never adapt fast enough to the millions of changes in the market which take place from day to day.

When the marketplace is left uncontrolled to work according to the laws of supply and demand, everyone's economic freedom is assured since no one individual is in control over events. It is when the government interferes in the market that the economy becomes less efficient and that freedom is restricted.

#2 - Lester Frank Ward (From *Glimpses of the Cosmos*)

Almost everything we enjoy today (1913), from good food to good health, comes from scientific investigation. It is man's intelligence, his ability to plan and order the universe, which separates him from animals. For the government to get involved and order things is just being intelligent.

I-4 INDUSTRIALISM

There is no need for mankind to continue to be crushed by natural laws and play the deadly game of survival of the fittest. People who favor social Darwinism and the laissez-faire doctrine say that the government shouldn't intervene in the natural flow of events--that we should not interfere (or meddle) with natural laws. But these people forget that all human development is the result of just such interference. The inventor, who the laissez-faire supporters feel is so good and who should be left alone by government, is a meddler in the natural course of development. If our society never interfered with natural laws our society would fall apart.

The government is not necessarily inefficient in its operations. There are many government regulations, laws, and operations in England and America. Even the supporters of laissez-faire probably admit that the national post office in America is a success. The government is an efficient and worthy agency to develop mineral and other resources, encourage inventions and aid in many other undertakings.

If we continue to have the rich, unhindered by any regulations to fulfill their obligations to society, get richer while the poor and powerless continue to get poorer, then we will have revolution. Wealth is a trust of society--no one could pile up wealth without other people to provide services, to provide labor, and to buy the products. Thus, society has a right to regulate what happens to that wealth. In so doing, the government can bring about a more equal distribution of wealth between rich and poor, and thereby avoid revolution.

#3 - Henry George (From *Progress and Poverty*)

Why is it that in America we have the "House of Have" (great wealth) and the "House of Want" (great poverty) standing side by side? It is from the unearned increase in the value of land which the rich get, since all economic advances come from the productive use of land. For example, the value of land would go up if a railroad was built through an area. But a report of the coming railroad would send land speculators rushing in to buy up the available land. The value of the land would multiply several times over. The speculators

I-4 INDUSTRIALISM

would then charge rent to the rest of the population. Notice that the speculators did nothing to improve the land, but they made all the profit. Meanwhile, the people who labored to improve the land, the workers on the railroad, received none of the profit. In fact, the workers got charged more rent for the land they improved.

It is certainly a terrible situation which creates progress for the (useless) landlord and poverty for the (useful) tenant. From this basic injustice flow all the injustices in our society, which condemn the producer of wealth to poverty and give the nonproducer wealth and luxury.

To solve this problem, the government should tax the unearned growth in land values and should use the money to help the rest of society.

#4 - Thorstein Veblen (From *The Theory of Business Enterprise*)

The very rich in America are neither useful to society, nor the product of "survival of the fittest". They are actually vultures who live off industries by piling up wealth through finance (investing money or banking). For example, Jay Gould made a great deal of money by destroying the Erie Railroad. He made all his profits by selling stocks in the railroads, not by making improvements in it. The Erie Railroad should have been run by engineers, who would have taken pride in running it well.

America should not be run according to the laissez-faire doctrine in which we sit back and allow the rich to manipulate the economy to plunder (make poorer) the rest of society.

#5 - Richard T. Ely (From *Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society*, and *The Labor Movement in America*)

Laissez-faire economics (also called classical economics) was composed before industrialism brought so many changes to society. Laissez-faire thinking is too simple for the complexities of an industrialized economy. The changes brought by industry are so great and are so destructive to

I-4 INDUSTRIALISM

some people in our country that government interference is required to protect those people.

While competition is a necessary part of our economy, industrialization brings a great deal of unequal competition. For example, unorganized workers cannot compete on an equal basis with industrial employers (owners) who can fix wages at a very low level.

Some Social Darwinists feel that individualism is a great ideal of Christianity and that competition is morally right. But extreme individualism is morally wrong--it leads to the breakdown of society. Cain (from Cain and Abel in the Bible) was the first extreme individualist when he asked if he were his brother's keeper. Laissez-faire policies assure us that we are not keepers of our brothers, that each one best promotes (advances) the general interest of society by promoting his own. Actually, the main way to protect the public interest and insure fair competition is through government involvement in the economy.

#6 - William Graham Sumner (From Albert Galloway Keller and Maurice R. Davie, eds., *Essays of William Graham Sumner*)

Societies are controlled by natural laws just as the universe is controlled by natural laws. All of mankind's social activity is determined (controlled) by the stage of industrial organization existing at the time. So, government interference cannot change the existing situation.

What government does is harmful in other ways, however. It undermines the personal freedom of the individual. For, where government interferes in people's lives, it tells them what they can and cannot do.

It is true that we have rich and poor in our society, but that is to be expected. The rich industrialists (owners of large industrial corporations) deserve to be rich as a reward for their work which brings about advance to society. On the other hand, the situation of the poor is mostly their own fault. The poor are poor because they are lazy. If every man were

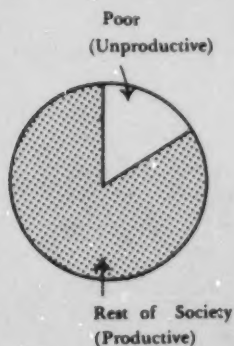
I-4 INDUSTRIALISM

hard working and wise, and if he brought his children up to be the same way, poverty would be abolished (done away with) in a few generations.

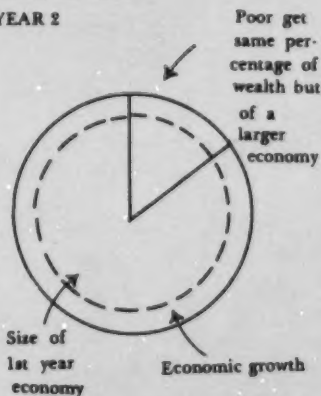
True, we as a society should take care of true paupers and the physically handicapped who need help. But the social reformers want to help the poor in general. Whatever money is used to support the shiftless and good-for-nothing person (which many of the poor are) cannot be used for whoever had the money before, likely a hard-working person. The poor are poor because they produce less than the middle class and wealthy. If a poor person produced something useful for society, he/she would no longer be poor since society would pay him/her to get it. Thus, the poor are less productive than the rest of society. If money is diverted (turned to a different use) by the government from the middle class and wealthy to the poor, it is really being diverted from the productive part of the economy to the unproductive part of the economy. As more money is put into the unproductive part of the economy, fewer goods are produced (since less money is in the part of the economy which produces goods). Thus, the next year the economy is not as big as it would have been if it had been left alone. Since there is probably more poverty resulting from this lack of growth, more money is spent to help the poor (i.e. diverted to the unproductive part of the economy). The net result after several years is that because of government aid to the poor everyone, including the poor, is worse off! The pie graphs below illustrate this argument:

Without Government Aid to the Poor

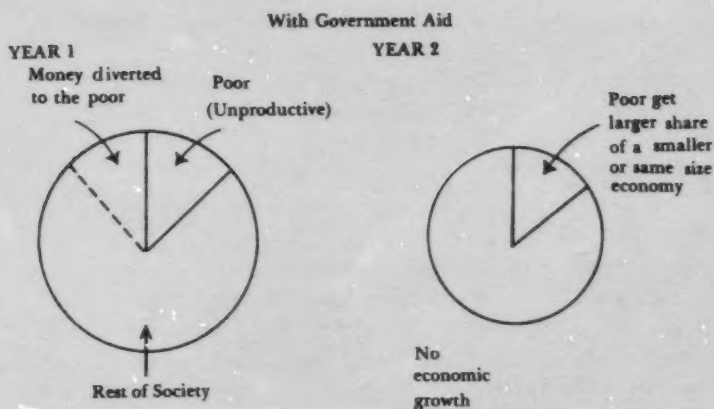
YEAR 1



YEAR 2



I-4 INDUSTRIALISM



Obviously, the poor are better off with a same-size share of a larger economy, than a larger share of a progressively smaller economy.

Some people have sympathy for the poor, but where in nature is there sympathy for the weak? Each man has to fight for his own existence and happiness. What we have overlooked is "the Forgotten Man". He is the simple, honest laborer, ready to earn his living by productive work. We pass him by because he is independent, self-supporting, and asks no favors. We should actually think of "the Forgotten Man" first, since he is the most important part of our society. We ought to protect him from having to take care of the lazy and good-for-nothing people.

The poor do not want and should not get help from society. By letting them alone, we cure the problems of poverty, crime, and filth by nature's method--we allow many of the poor to die in the struggle of the survival of the fittest.

I-4 INDUSTRIALISM

#7 - Washington Gladden (From *Social Facts and Forces*)

Industrial conditions today (1897) are deplorable. If men only followed the true teachings of Jesus (such as loving your neighbor as yourself) the conditions in our society would be greatly improved.

Corporations, left to themselves, lower the morality of our country. For example, suppose four businessmen were competing in an industry, and that three of the businessmen were honest and one was immoral. If the immoral owner could lower his prices by doing something immoral then he could undersell his three competitors and take over the industry. The three other businessmen now face a dilemma. If they remain honest, the immoral businessman will force them out of business. In this case, one immoral businessman will eventually run the whole industry. Or the three businessmen can become dishonest to compete effectively with the immoral owner. In this case, four immoral businessmen will run the industry.

Since business moves naturally toward lower standards of morality, we need government regulation to insure equal and fair competition and promote higher standards of morality for our society.

#8 - Andrew Carnegie (From *The Gospel of Wealth*)

Freedom is the right of each person to gain as much wealth as he can through hard work and thrift. Equality is equal opportunity for financial wealth, not welfare by the government taken from the rich through taxes and given to the poor. Progress does not come from the government but from the ever-increasing production of industries.

If there is to be any charity for the poor, it should come from private individuals giving voluntarily, not from the government.

I-4 INDUSTRIALISM

#9 - Herbert Spencer (*From Illustrations of Universal Progress*)

Just as Charles Darwin has shown that survival of the fittest is the natural law in nature, so too in society competition is the method of survival of the fittest. The wealthy people in society have shown through their successful competition for wealth that they are the fittest. Any government interference or regulation to protect society or restrict this competition is a violation of this law of nature of survival of the fittest.

#10 - Horatio Alger (Alger wrote children's fiction books. His ideas are inferred from the stories in the books.)

People rise from poverty by working hard, being thrifty, and seizing "the main chance." When people do some good deed, they are rewarded with good luck.

L - 1A LABOR

- A. (I) "An employer should be able to fire his workers for whatever reason he chooses, (II) because he owns the business (III) and pays the wages."

_____ 1. What is the conclusion?

A. I C. III

B. II D. Workers should work harder.

2. What is the assumption?

- B. "George Pullman was responsible for the Pullman Strike. He lowered wages for his workers at the Pullman factory but kept rents the same for those same workers in his houses in the town of Pullman."

_____ 3. What is the conclusion?

A. The workers couldn't stand for this treatment.

B. George Pullman should have lowered rents.

C. George Pullman was responsible for the Pullman Strike.

D. George Pullman was wrong to lower wages at that time.

_____ 4. What type of reasoning is this primarily?

A. Evidence (Proof) C. Comparison

B. Sample D. Cause and Effect

E. Debating

- C. (I) "Andrew Carnegie deserved to be rich. (II) He started out as a bobbin boy in a factory making only a few dollars a week. (III) But he worked hard and earned a fortune."

_____ 5. What is the conclusion?

A. I C. III

B. II D. Carnegie was left handed.

_____ 6. What is a word which makes a value judgment?

A. Deserved C. Bobbin boy

B. Started D. Dollars

_____ 7. What is one thing in which the author of this argument probably believes?

A. Earning a few dollars a week.

B. Equality of wealth.

C. Working hard on the job.

D. Giving away wealth.

_____ 8. What is an undefined word?

A. Bobbin boy C. Week

B. Hard D. Worked

L - 1B LABOR

- A. (I) "An employer should be able to fire his workers for whatever reason he chooses, (II) because he owns the business (III) and pays the wages."

- ____ 1. What is the conclusion:
A. I C. III
B. II D. Workers should work harder.
2. What is the assumption?

- B. (I) "George Pullman lowered wages for his workers at the Pullman factory, (II) but kept rents the same for those same workers in his town of Pullman. (III) This unfair treatment caused the Pullman Strike."

- ____ 3. What is the conclusion?
A. I C. III
B. II D. Pullman had no right to lower wages.
E. Pullman did not like acid rock music.

- ____ 4. What is a possible fallacy?
A. Ad Hominem C. Post hoc
B. Begging the question D. Ambiguity
E. No fallacy

- ____ 5. What type of reasoning is this primarily?
A. Analogy (comparison) C. Cause and effect
B. Generalization (sample) D. Proof
E. Meaning

- C. (I) "Americans in general supported employers and opposed unions in the late 1880's. (II) This opposition is not hard to understand. (III) Most Americans believed in private property and that employers had the right to hire and fire as they pleased."

- ____ 6. The conclusion is:
A. I C. III
B. II D. Americans were air heads.
- ____ 7. What are two types of reasoning in this argument?
A. Analogy (comparison) C. Proof
B. Generalization (sample) D. Cause and effect
E. Debating

L-1B LABOR

- _____ 8. What is a possible fallacy?
A. Composition C. Appeal to consequences
B. Negative proof D. Irrelevant proof
E. No fallacy
- _____ 9. What is a word which makes a value judgment?
A. General C. Understand
B. Opposed D. Right
E. Fire
- D. (I) "Because of the racial prejudice of many white workers,
(II) Negroes were excluded from most labor organizations
in the late 19th century."
- _____ 10. The conclusion is:
A. I C. White workers were wrong to be
prejudiced.
B. II D. Negroes would have been an asset to
labor organizations.
- _____ 11. What are two types of reasoning in this argument?
A. Analogy (comparison) C. Cause and effect
B. Generalization (sample) D. Proof
E. Meaning
- _____ 12. What is a possible fallacy?
A. Negative proof D. Numbers
B. Correlation as cause E. No fallacy
C. Misrepresentative sample

L - 2A LABOR

HISTORIAN A

(I) Ever increasing numbers of poor people of other countries have been coming into the United States lately. (II) These immigrants have hurt our country in many ways.

(III) First, immigrants lower the wages of American workers. (IV) Since these foreigners come from the poorest classes from their own countries, any job they can get in the U.S., no matter how low the pay, is an improvement in their situation. (V) As a result, immigrants are willing to work for lower wages than are native Americans (non-immigrants). (VI) The companies' owners can pay less to everyone if the native Americans want higher pay; the owner can just hire immigrants in their place.

(VII) Second, immigrants take jobs away from native Americans, causing higher unemployment. (VIII) The foreigners come here looking for work. (IX) Each job they get is one less job for an American to fill.

(X) Third, immigrants cause an increase in crime. (XI) A government report on crime shows that the recent immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe (from such countries as Greece, Italy and Bulgaria) have a crime rate which is much higher than the crime rate of native Americans. (XII) The result of this increase in crime costs all Americans.

(XIII) Fourth, immigrants cause an increase in poverty. (XIV) A government report on paupers (very poor people) shows that a much higher percentage of immigrants are poor than their percentage of the population. (XV) For example, the report shows that in 1903 immigrants made up 13.4% of the total population, but 39.3 % of the poor people.

(XVI) It is easy to see that immigrants hurt our country in many ways. (XVII) We should restrict (cut down on) immigration before America is ruined.

L - 2B LABOR

HISTORIAN B

(I) Some people have argued that immigrants hurt our country. (II) However, the arguments of people who oppose immigration are weak in many ways.

(III) First, people say that immigrants lower the wages of native Americans. (IV) This is based on the report of the U. S. Immigration Commission. (V) The Commission concluded that immigrants caused the wages of native-born Americans to drop because immigrants, on a whole, received lower wages than native Americans. (VI) The Commission overlooked the fact, however, that immigrants received the lowest wages because they were forced to take the worst jobs.

(VII) Second, some people argue that immigrants take jobs away from native Americans. (VIII) This is based on the mistaken belief that only a fixed number of jobs exist in any economy, so that each one taken by an immigrant is one less available for the native. (IX) Actually, the number of jobs expands with an expanding population. (X) Statistics from the U. S. Census prove this point. (XI) From 1870 to 1930 the population rose by about 200%, much of it due to immigration. (XII) In that same period (1870-1930), the number of people holding jobs rose by nearly 300%.

(XIII) What happened was that although immigrants took jobs, they created many more jobs. (XIV) Immigrants needed food, clothing and all the other goods and services that other people needed. (XV) Thus, they increased the demand for goods and services. (XVI) To meet the demand businesses hired more workers to expand their output of goods and services. (XVII) Native Americans got many of these new jobs. (XVIII) It's hard to see how anyone could argue that immigrants hurt native American workers.

(XIX) Third, people argue that immigrants cause an increase in crime and poverty. (XX) This overlooks the fact that immigrants are law-abiding and hard-working people.

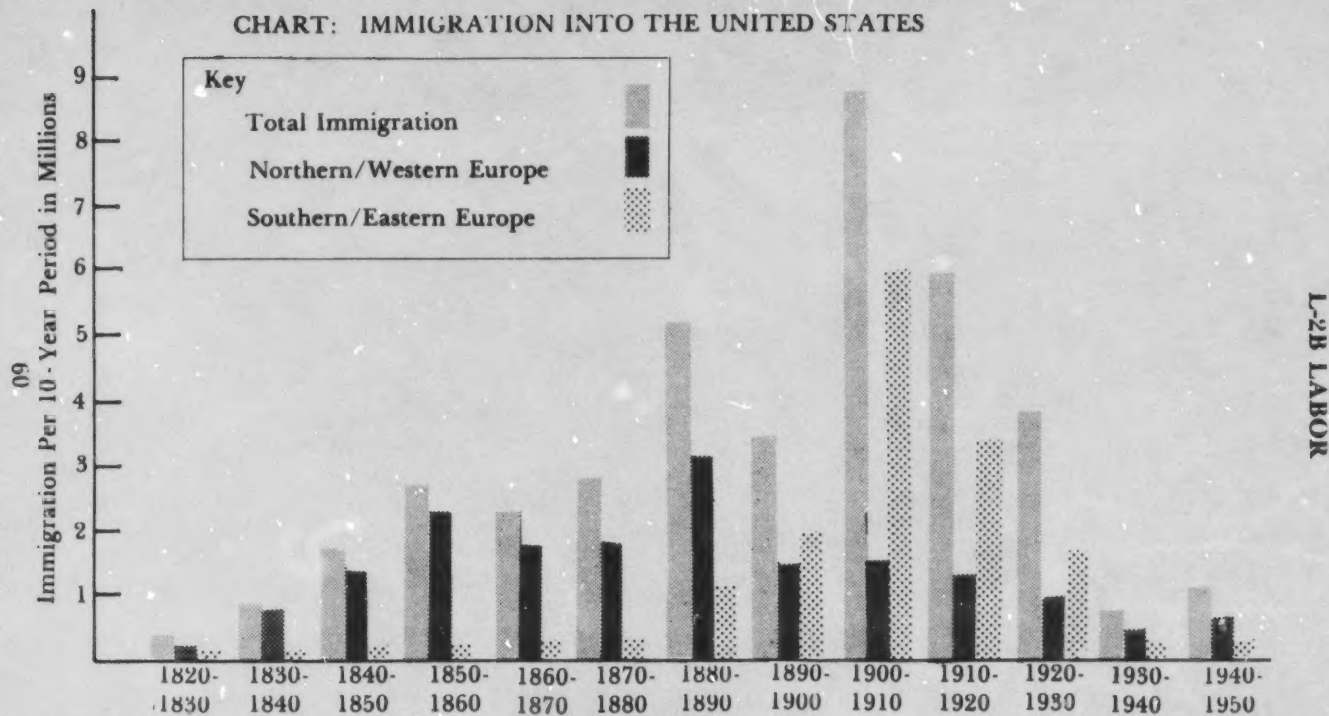
(XXI) It is obvious that the arguments against immigrants are ridiculous. (XXII) We should think about the positive results of immigration and welcome the foreigners with open arms.

L-2B LABOR

RELEVANT INFORMATION FOR THE VIEWPOINTS ON IMMIGRATION

1. Crimes are generally committed by adults and not children.
2. Crime rates are generally much higher among men than women.
3. Many Americans felt that immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe were bad for the country, but that immigrants from Northern and Western Europe were not so bad.
4. Most immigrants to the United States were adult men without their wives or children.
5. All people consume goods and services, which generally increases the demand for those goods and services, which leads to increased production of those goods and services, which generally leads to increased employment.
6. Most immigrants received unskilled (the lowest-paying) jobs.

CHART: IMMIGRATION INTO THE UNITED STATES



L - 2B LABOR

INFORMATION ABOUT THE CHART ON IMMIGRATION

1. The U.S. was in a depression in the 1930's.
2. There was a potato famine in Ireland (a country considered to be in the "Northern/Western Europe" group) in the 1840's.
3. World War I was fought from 1914 to 1918. It involved almost all of the countries of Europe. Blockades and submarines made it difficult to travel on the oceans.
4. The U.S. was in a depression in the 1890's.
5. The U.S. fought the Civil War from 1861 to 1865.
6. There were revolutions in many countries in Europe, especially the countries of Northern and Western Europe, in the late 1840's.
7. Wars often create a lot of refugees.
8. The U.S. experienced increasing industrialization and economic growth in the late 1800's.
9. As a country industrializes and has increased economic growth, it needs more workers to produce the increased number of goods.

L - 2C LABOR

HISTORIAN A

(I) Into this favored section of the earth's surface have been introduced ever-increasing numbers of the lower classes of foreign nations. (II) What has been their effect upon the standard of living (the measure of how well off people are economically) of people in the U.S.?

(III) Immigrants come from countries which have a lower standard of living than in the U.S. (IV) Common observation and general testimony establish this beyond the need of proof. (V) Particularly at the present time, if this were not so, very few of our immigrants would come, for, as we have seen, this is the major reason which brings them to America. (VI) It is significant, however, that as time goes on, the bulk of immigration has been recruited from more and more backward races of Europe.

(VII) As a result, immigrants work for lower wages than do Americans. (VIII) This lowers the wages of American workers. (IX) Some people argue that the immigrants push native Americans up to higher-level jobs. (X) The fallacy in this is that while a few American workers move to higher-level positions, most stay at the same jobs for lower pay, and some native Americans don't get jobs at all. (XI) Thus, immigrants cause higher unemployment among American workers.

(XII) Immigrants also have a negative effect on unions. (XIII) They work for lower wages, which breaks union bargaining power, and they are used as strikebreakers. (XIV) Some people argue that American workers are better off then they were fifty years ago. (XV) The key question is not whether the workers have more, but how they are doing compared to other groups, and compared to how they would be doing without the immigrants.

L - 2C LABOR

(XVI) One of the chief objections to unrestricted immigration is the increase in pauperism¹ and crime² caused by them. (XVII) A nation which has increasing numbers of people who are ill-housed, ill-clothed, and ill-fed is worse off. (XVIII) The paupers add to the burden of welfare to take care of them, and the criminals cost everyone. (XIX) As a result of the careful studies by the Immigration Commission, this is one of the very few effects of immigration about which we may feel justified in setting down definite conclusions.

FOOTNOTES - HISTORIAN A

1. *Special Report of the Census Bureau on Paupers in Almshouses, 1904:*

Per cent Distribution
of Paupers (Poor people
living in poor houses)

Per cent Distribution
of General Population

	1903	1890	1880	1903	1890	1880
White Population						
Native American	51.6	50.2	56.8	74.5	73.2	73.4
Foreign (Immigrant)	39.3	37.8	34.6	13.4	14.6	15.1

This chart clearly shows that the percentage of immigrants which are poor is much higher than the percentage of immigrants of the whole population. There seems to be something in the racial character of some of our immigrants which causes them to be paupers and to commit crimes (as shown in the next footnote).

2. Laughlin Report, Survey on Crime:

Based on the number of immigrants in the United States, the recent immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe (Serbia, Spain, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Turkey, Rumania, and so forth) have a crime rate much higher than their percentage of the population. For example, Serbia has fourteen times as many criminals as she ought to have.

L-2C LABOR

HISTORIAN B

(I) One of the most persistent economic fallacies in popular thought is the notion that immigrants take away the jobs of native Americans. (II) This rests on the mistaken belief that only a fixed number of jobs exist in any economy and that any newcomer threatens the job of any old resident. (III) Actually, the number of jobs expanded with an expanding population. (IV) Statistics prove this point. (V) From 1870, when immigration began to assume important proportions, to 1930 the population rose from 38.5 million to 122.8 million people or about 200 %. (VI) However, the number of gainfully-employed people increased from 12.5 million in 1870 to 48.8 million in 1930, or nearly 300 %.

(VII) Immigrants did not take many jobs from native Americans. (VIII) They set up whole new categories of employment, such as the Chinese laundry and the Greek sponge industry. (IX) They started a demand for products from their native countries, which helped our import/export industries. (X) Moreover, over 50 % of immigrants wrote "no occupation" on their forms—they were women, children, and older people. (XI) Those Americans, such as in the steel or textile industries, who were replaced in jobs by immigrants generally moved up to supervisory positions. (XII) This upward mobility is the hallmark of American social democracy.

(XIII) Opposition to immigrants was sometimes based on the grounds that it tended to lower the American standard of living. (XIV) However, many of the problems associated with this time period around 1900 were really a result of rapid industrialization. (XV) Immigrants played only a small part in this whole development. (XVI) The U.S. Immigration Commission tended to throw some blame upon the immigrant population for low wages and other evils. (XVII) It concluded that immigrants tended to undercut the wages of native-born workers, because immigrants, on a whole, received lower wages than native Americans. (XVIII) The Commission overlooked the fact, however, that immigrants received the lowest wages because they took unskilled jobs.

L-2C LABOR

(XIX) The Commission also said that immigrants were holding back labor's advance because they were difficult to unionize. (XX) Actually, this was due to the fact that immigrants were in unskilled industries which were not unionized at the time. (XXI) Also, eventually immigrants did join unions in large numbers.

L - 2C LABOR

RELEVANT INFORMATION FOR THE VIEWPOINTS ON IMMIGRATION

1. Crimes are generally committed by adults, not children.
2. Crime rates are generally much higher among men than women.
3. The Immigration Act of 1921 said that the number of immigrants of any nationality who could enter the U.S. in any year was limited to 3 per cent of the number of persons of that nationality who were resident in the U. S. according to the census of 1910.
4. Most immigrants to the United States were adult men without their wives or children.
5. All people consume goods and services, which generally increases the demand for those goods and services, which leads to increased production of those goods and services, which generally leads to increased employment.
6. The Immigration Act of 1924 stated that the number of immigrants of any nationality who could enter the U.S. in any year was limited to 2 per cent of the number of persons of that nationality who were resident in the U.S. according to the census of 1890.
7. Unskilled jobs get lower wages, in general; than skilled jobs.
8. Most immigrants received unskilled jobs.
9. When workers get lower wages, there may be a greater demand for workers, which might lower the unemployment rate.
10. Many Americans felt that immigrants from Southern / Eastern Europe were bad for the country, but that immigrants from Northern/Western Europe were not so bad.

L. 5 LABOR

- A. (I) "Last year, when we had one vice principal (a vice principal deals with discipline in a school) there were only two students suspended. (II) Now with two vice principals we've had eight students suspended. (III) That second guy caused the discipline in the school to fall apart."

- _____ 1. What is the conclusion?
A. I C. III
B. II D. Two vice principals are better than one.
2. You'll notice, by the word "cause," that this is cause and effect reasoning. Below write the key question for this type of reasoning:
3. How well does this person answer this key question?

- B. (I) "Wherever you see slum areas in Homestead or in the Ohio Valley in general there you will see immigrants concentrated. (II) Those foreigners are ruining the neighborhoods of the mill towns."

- _____ 4. What is the conclusion?
A. Wherever there are slums there are concentrations of immigrants.
B. Wherever there are concentrations of immigrants there are slums.
C. Immigrants shouldn't work in the steel industry.
D. Immigrants are causing the slums.
- _____ 5. What type of reasoning is this, primarily?
A. Comparison C. Cause and effect
B. Sample D. Proof
E. Debating

6. Explain in your own words what is wrong with the reasoning in this argument:

- _____ 7. Which word would cause the greatest definitional problems?
A. Slum areas C. Ohio Valley
B. Immigrants D. Towns

L-3 LABOR

C. Declining family size.

- _____8. Which of the arguments below gives the best explanation for the decline in the size of the American, middle-class family in the late nineteenth century?
- A. The American, middle-class family declined in size in the late nineteenth century because Americans had fewer children.
 - B. The American, middle-class family declined in size in the late nineteenth century because Americans married more frequently, had fewer children and lived longer. As a result the family in America changed significantly.
 - C. The American, middle-class family declined in size in the late nineteenth century because Americans had fewer children. One reason for this was that in industrial cities (where many more Americans lived in the nineteenth century) children were a disadvantage rather than a benefit, as they had been on farms. Also, American values were changing. Americans were more interested in how they raised their children, so they had fewer children to raise.
 - D. The American, middle-class family declined in size in the late nineteenth century because Americans married more frequently and had fewer children. As the country became more industrialized it was easier for people to marry, since men did not need to own land before they could marry. Also, young people were less controlled by their parents, so they could marry earlier. With more marriages but fewer children there were more families, but they were smaller.
9. Suppose you were researching this topic of the decline in size of the American family in the late nineteenth century. What is one question you would ask, or one thing you would look for?

L - 4 LABOR

HISTORIAN A

(I) The Pullman Strike of 1894 was a major event in American labor history. (II) The railway workers, backed by Eugene V. Debs and the American Railway Union (ARU), were crushed by George Pullman who was backed by the power of the U.S. Government. (III) How did this important strike come about?

(IV) The owner of the Pullman Palace Car Company, George Pullman, started the so-called "model town" for his workers in the 1880's. (V) Pullman said the town was to benefit his workers. (VI) In reality, the town was begun so Pullman could make money and control his workers better. (VII) For example, Pullman bought water for \$.04 per 1,000 gallons and sold it to the renters in town for \$.10 per 1,000 gallons. (VIII) The town charged residents \$2.25 per 1,000 cubic feet for natural gas which the company paid \$.33 to make. (IX) In Chicago people paid \$1.00 - \$1.25 for gas. (X) The rents in the town were 15% - 20% higher for worse apartments than in neighboring towns.¹ (XI) It is well to remember that Pullman had a monopoly on the services in the town, so it makes sense that he would collect unusually large profits. (XII) He made a handsome 8% profit per year on the town.²

(XIII) Pullman used the town to control the employees in several ways. (XIV) Although not all the workers in the Pullman Company lived in the "model" town, Pullman exerted a great deal of pressure on the workers to live in the town. (XV) Workers who did not live in the town were laid off or fired first during bad times.³ (XVI) Once in the town the workers were powerless. (XVII) Pullman appointed the town officials, had the rents deducted from paychecks before giving the checks to workers, controlled the businesses and newspaper (*The Pullman Journal*) in town and had a spy system set up.⁴ (XVIII) During the strike, the newspaper never wavered from the pro-company position, the businesses would give no credit to the strikers, the town would not allow strikers to rent or use the "public" halls, and the town eventually evicted (threw out) the strikers.⁵

(XIX) The living conditions for the workers in the town were poor. (XX) The "blocks" were slums where the

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apartments were crowded and some families had to pass through other apartments to get to theirs.⁶ (XXI) Some of the facilities in the tenements were restricted; only one water faucet for each group of five families, and the same toilet for two or more families.⁷ (XXII) These terrible conditions and the complete control by George Pullman over the residents of the town led one worker to say:

We are born in a Pullman house, fed from the Pullman shop, taught in the Pullman school, catechized in the Pullman church, and when we die, we shall be buried in the Pullman cemetery and go to Pullman hell.⁸

(XXIII) The situation in the "model town" was bad enough. (XXIV) When a depression hit in 1893, Pullman laid off (let go) more than 3,000 of his 5,800 employees. (XXV) Then he cut wages by 25% - 40% but kept the rents the same in the town. (XXVI) The results were disastrous. (XXVII) Very few workers had more than six dollars a week left after the company had made its deductions for food, rent, and other charges. (XXVIII) In one case a worker found that his net earning for the week came to two cents.⁹ (XXIX) Pullman claimed he had to cut wages to keep the company in business, and yet through the entire time period he kept paying 8% dividends to the company stockholders.¹⁰ (XXX) His hypocrisy was plain for everyone to see, so the workers secretly joined the American Railway Union and then went to talk with Pullman.

(XXXI) Mr. Pullman refused to negotiate with the workers and the next day three of the union negotiators were laid off.¹¹ (XXXII) The union still did not strike, and tried to talk with Pullman once more. (XXXIII) Again, Pullman refused to negotiate,¹² so the bloody Pullman Strike of 1894 began.

1 Testimony by Reverend William H. Carwardine of the Pullman Methodist Episcopal Church to the United States Strike Commission Report, Senate Executive Document No. 7 (53rd Congress, 3rd Session), August 17, 1894:

"The water tax has always been a burden upon the people. Bought (by the Pullman Company) under contract for 4 cents per 1,000 gallons, it was retailed (sold) to the tenant for 10 cents per 1,000 gallons..."

2 *The Chicago Times*, June 20, 1894:

"The company gets a great income from their tenants. I am told it amounts to 8 per cent per annum (year) on the investment."

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- 3 Extracts from the Report of the Commissioners, The State Bureau of Labor Statistics on the Industrial, Social, and Economic Conditions of Pullman, Illinois in the appendix to: Mrs. Duane Doty, *The Town of Pullman*, Pullman, Illinois: T.P. Struhsacker, 1893:
 "The general management at Pullman of course partakes of the sentiment of its founder--a broad, comprehensive humanitarian...(i)f one of two men must be discharged (fired), and each has a family, and one resides away from Pullman and the other at Pullman, the resident (of Pullman) is to be preferred (to keep his job)."
- 4 Milton Meltzer (historian), *Bread and Roses: The Struggle of American Labor, 1865-1915*, New York, Random House, 1967, p. 150.
- 5 *The Chicago Times*, May 15, 1894:
 "Saturday Mr. Parend (Assistant Superintendent of the town) made the somewhat startling announcement that those who are in arrears of rent and on strike would have to move out."
 Milton Meltzer (historian), *Bread and Roses*, p. 150.
- 6 *The Chicago Times*, June 20, 1894. Quote by an unidentified gentlemen who lived for years in Pullman:
 "My people live away up in the attic, as they do in the stifling quarters of New York, and as that part of the block wasn't intended for use in that way and so preparation made for it the family on the top floor has to pass through the apartments of the family on the second (floor) in order to secure ingress (entrance) and egress exit."
- 7 Almont Lindsey (historian), *The Pullman Strike* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942) quoted in Meltzer, *Bread and Roses*, p. 149.
- 8 Quoted in Alice Gordon, *The Promise of America* (Chicago, Science Research Associates, 1970), p. 373.
- 9 Reverent William H. Carwardine, quoted in Foster Rhea Dulles (historian), *Labor in America: A History* (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1968), p. 172.
- 10 *The Chicago Times*, May 15, 1894:
 "Today the Pullman Company will declare a quarterly dividend of 2 percent on its capital stock of \$30,000,000 and President George M. Pullman is authority for the statement that his company owes no man a cent. This despite the assertion of Mr. Pullman that the works have been run at a loss for eight months."
- 11 Meltzer (historian), *Bread and Roses*, p. 152.
- 12 "Mr. Pullman Talks Freely," *New York Sun*, July 5, 1894:
 "We declined to see any committee from the American Railway Union..."
 "Mr. Pullman's Statement," *New York Tribune*, July 14, 1894:
 Headline: "THERE WAS NOTHING TO ARBITRATE--DEMANDS MADE BY THE WORKMEN WERE UNREASONABLE"

L - 4 LABOR

HISTORIAN B

(I) One of the important events in American labor history was the Pullman Strike of 1894. (II) Historians have studied many aspects of the strike, such as the problem of government intervention into labor-management disputes. (III) One aspect of the strike which deserves close study is how the whole thing began.

(IV) The owner of the Pullman Palace Car Company, George Pullman, started a model town to benefit his workers (and thereby draw better workers to his company), and to serve as an example to other companies of how to uplift workers.¹

(V) Some people have alleged that Pullman made excessive profits on the services in the town. (VI) This is not true. (VII) For example, Pullman made only \$30.86 per month in profits for water for the whole town.² (VIII) When the rate for water went up to 6.8 cents per 1,000 gallons, the town lost \$591.07 per month.³ (IX) The town made \$1.67 per month per worker in profit from its natural gas sales. (X) This rate was about the same for country towns, so it certainly wasn't excessive.⁴

(XI) The rents in the town were a little higher than surrounding towns, but that was because the apartments and living conditions were better. (XII) The mostly modern, brick buildings were:

bordered with bright beds of flowers and green velvety stretches of lawn, shaded with trees, and dotted with parks and pretty water vistas, and glimpses here and there of artistic sweeps of landscape gardening. 5

(XIII) Some people have charged that Pullman had total control over the town, but this is not so. (XIV) Since the town was part of the town of Hyde Park and of Chicago, its aldermen (the leaders of the town) were elected as part of Chicago. (XV) Residents of the town voted by secret ballot, so there was no way for Pullman to control who they elected. (XVI) One observer of the town heard men freely praising and criticizing company officials, and a bookstore in the town sold a book openly critical of Pullman. (XVII) Moreover, the stores in town were rented out to anyone, and the other institutions (such as the library and parks) were run by the townspeople, not the company.⁶

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(XVIII) Most of the employees of the company did not live in the town, so it certainly cannot be said that Pullman forced his employees to live in the town.⁷ (XIX) Thus, some Pullman employees lived in the model town under reasonably good conditions, for reasonable rent, and with some control over the town and the freedom to move out if they desired.

(XX) This situation was disrupted by the start of a depression of 1893. (XXI) Pullman had to lay off several thousand of his workers but was able to keep the company going by taking on work at prices which gave the company no profit. (XXII) Finally, he had to ask the workers to take a pay cut of 25% to 40%.⁸ (XXIII) The pay cut hurt the workers, but without it the whole company would have been closed and all the workers unemployed.

(XXIV) Some people say that Pullman should have cut the rents in the town also. (XXV) However, the town was a separate business from the company and it had to be run at a profit separate from the company.⁹ (XXVI) The costs of running the town dictated that rents remain the same.

(XXVII) The workers' response to the wage cut was to secretly join the American Railway Union and to come to Mr. Pullman to make demands. (XXVIII) Mr. Pullman would have been glad to arbitrate with his own workers, but he could not tolerate the interference of a large union with national labor interests in mind rather than the interests of his own workers.¹⁰ (XXIX) Three of the union men who met with Mr. Pullman were fired the next day. (XXX) The union ignored the fact that the three workers let go were part of a more general lay off (there were 43 men on the committee that met with Mr. Pullman), and charged Pullman with firing the workers because they were in the union.¹¹ (XXXI) On this false charge, the union voted to strike and shut down the Pullman factory. (XXXII) The great Pullman Strike of 1894 had begun.

1 Extracts from the Report of Commissioners, The State Bureau of Labor Statistics on the Industrial, Social, and Economic Conditions of Pullman, Illinois in the appendix to: Mrs. Duane Doty, *The Town of Pullman*, Pullman, Illinois: T.P. Struhsacker, 1893.

2 "The Strike at Pullman: Statements of President George M. Pullman and 2nd Vice President T.H. Wickes." Statement by Mr. Wickes:
"This percentage, \$86.71, added to the amount paid the village (Hyde Park) for the water supply to the tenants per month, brings the cost to the company to \$975.18 per month, which is less then the average amount, \$1006.04, charged to tenants, by the

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insignificant sum of \$30.86. It would be difficult to have a more exact agreement, and the facts thus show that Mr. Carwardine's statement that the company was charging the tenants $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the cost of the water was utterly reckless and untrue."

- 3 Wickes, *Ibid*.
- 4 Wickes, *Ibid*.
"The average revenue to the company from each wage worker using gas, including foremen, is approximately \$1.67 per month...It should be compared with the gas rates of country towns, and it is believed that upon such comparison the Pullman rate will be found to be less than their rates."
- 5 Pullman Company pamphlet -- description of the town of Pullman. Also, statement by T.H. Wickes, and Extracts from the Report of Commissioners.
- 6 Charles H. Eaton, *Pullman and Paternalism*.
- 7 "The Strike at Pullman". Statement by George Pullman.
- 8 "Mr. Pullman's Statement", *The New York Times*, July 14, 1894:
"The great business depression existing throughout the country had naturally resulted in a wage depression, and the only hope of getting orders was by bidding for work at prices as low as, or lower than could be made by other shops, and this, or course, necessitated a reduction in the wages of the employees at Pullman."
- 9 "Mr. Pullman's Statement", *Ibid*:
"The average rental of tenements at Pullman is at the rate of \$3 a room a month, and the renting of houses at Pullman has no relation to the work in the shops...In short, the renting business of the Pullman Company is governed by the same conditions which govern any other large owner of real estate...It can hardly be asked that the Pullman Company alone should abandon the ordinary rules which govern (the real estate business)."
- 10 "Mr. Pullman's Statement", *Ibid*:
"In the early part of May, a committee of the employees demanded a restoration of the wages of a year ago. I explained to this committee minutely and laboriously the facts, showing that the company was already paying them more than it was receiving for their contract work and I offered them, for complete assurance, and to end all questions, an inspection of our books and contracts in hand.
How could I, as president of the Pullman Company, consent to agree that if any body of men (the union) not concerned with the interests of the company's shareholders should, as arbitrators, for any reason seeming good to them so decree, I would open the shops, employ workmen at wages greater than their work could be sold for, and continue this ruinous policy indefinitely; or be accused of a breach of faith?
(The real) question was as to the possibility of the creation and duration of a dictatorship (of the union) which could make all the industries of the United States...hostages for the granting of any fantastic whim of such a dictator."
- 11 Statement by Mr. Wickes. From "The Strike at Pullman":
"Testimony has been given before the commission that the immediate cause of the strike was the discharge of three employees contrary to the assurance I had given to the committee of workmen that none of them should be affected by their serving on the committee. I gave such assurance upon request, and with entire willingness, and it was not violated, and no such complaint was ever made, I think, to any official of the company. There were forty-three members of the committee at the conference on May 9, and on May 10 it happened that in temporarily "laying off" men for whom there was no immediate work, three men were included who were said to be on the committee, as to each of whom the subordinate officials concerned deny that they at the time knew he was on the committee and say that the laying off was caused by nothing but the ordinary course of business."

P - 1 PROGRESSIVISM

HISTORICAL NOVELS

People read novels for a number of reasons. One reason is for enjoyment. A second reason is to gain insights about some aspects of life. When you read novels in English class, you examine the literary elements of them, such as plot, character development, symbolism, and writing style. You may also look at the historical situation at the time the novel was written, and you might question why the author wrote it.

Historical novels, in addition to literary aspects, have an entirely different dimension as well. Historical novels deal with specific time periods, events, or people in history. As such, whether they mean to or not, historical novels influence our view of history. For example, our view of slavery, Southern culture and the Civil War will probably be influenced by reading *Gone With the Wind*. After all, after reading the novel, some of the people we know best or identify most with from the South are Scarlett O'Hara, Rhett Butler and the other characters. This same influence is present when historical novels are made into movies or docudramas (such as "The Winds of War").

When historians write interpretations which influence our view of history, we are on guard and subject their viewpoints to close scrutiny. We watch for assumptions and certain kinds of language, we evaluate their reasoning and evidence, and we compare their arguments to what we already know. It would be inconsistent not to subject historical novels to the same kind of scrutiny. What we are doing is evaluating the historical arguments in the novel, not judging the literary worth of the novel. Because historical novels are in a different form from regular historical arguments, our evaluation of them will take a different form from our analysis of historical arguments. In the space below, list at least two questions that you could ask about a historical novel in order to judge the historical argument in it, and at least two places where you would look (be specific) to find more information on the novel:

Two questions:

- 1.
- 2.

Two places to look:

- 1.
- 2.

P - 1 PROGRESSIVISM

RELEVANT INFORMATION ABOUT *THE JUNGLE*

A. INFORMATION ON THE BOOK

1. It was published in 1906.
2. Upton Sinclair was given \$500 by the socialist weekly magazine, *Appeal to Reason*, to investigate labor conditions in the Chicago stockyards and then publish his findings in the magazine. (Socialists are generally critical of conditions in capitalist countries such as the U.S.)
3. Sinclair spent seven weeks living with workmen to gather information for the novel.
4. After Sinclair had his findings printed in *Appeal to Reason* in article form, he went to a publisher to have it printed in novel form. The publisher refused to print it unless Sinclair made specific cuts in the manuscript.
5. Sinclair went to a second publisher, who checked on the truth of his observations, felt satisfied with them, and published the book.
6. Reviews of the book in 1906:
 - A. *Arena*, June, 1906: "(This) is one of the strongest and most powerful voices of protest against a great wrong that has appeared in America."
 - B. *Bookman*, April, 1906: "It is impossible to withhold admiration of Mr. Sinclair's enthusiasm; and yet, many socialists will regret his mistaken advocacy of their cause. His reasoning is so false, his disregard for human nature so naïve, his statement of facts so biased, his conclusions so perverted, that the effect can be only to disgust many honest, sensible folk with the very terms he uses so glibly."
 - D. *New York Times Saturday Review*, March 3, 1906: "We are afraid Mr. Sinclair has not been divinely appointed to be a deliverer of Labor lying prostrate. Somehow, in his tones the ear continuously catches the false note. He has been at pains to 'get up' his facts thoroughly, and his realism is often striking. But he seems to write not from the heart but from the head."
 - E. *Independent*, March 24, 1906: "Though overdrawn from a literary standpoint and almost surely exaggerated as to facts, (it) is a powerful and harrowing narrative. *The Jungle* may do some harm; also, it will surely do much good."

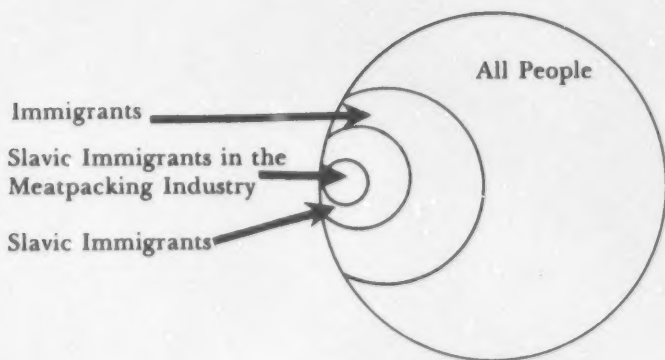
P - 1 PROGRESSIVISM

B. INFORMATION ABOUT SLAVIC IMMIGRANTS IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY

Did the novel *The Jungle* influence your opinions about the plight of Slavic immigrants in the meatpacking industry in the 1890's, the plight of Slavic immigrants in general, the plight of immigrants in general, the meatpacking industry, industrialization in the nineteenth century in general, or other topics? These are very different topics. That is, *The Jungle* may be accurate in its portrayal of Slavic immigrants in the meatpacking industry in the 1890's, but inaccurate in its portrayal of other immigrant groups or other industries. If your opinion about industrialization in general was influenced, you have to ask yourself how representative the descriptions in this novel were of industrialization in the U.S. in general.

This idea of representativeness has to do with samples. The drawing below describes the novel as a sample of different levels of generalization having to do with conditions of people in various industries.

PEOPLE IN THE U.S. IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY



P-1 PROGRESSIVISM

If you decided that the descriptions in *The Jungle* were basically accurate, you might conclude "Slavic immigrants in the meatpacking industry around 1900 had terrible working conditions." However, if you concluded that "people in general in the U.S. in the nineteenth century had terrible working conditions," you are on much shakier ground. This generalization applies to the largest circle, yet is derived from the sample of the smallest circle. How do we know, for example, that non-immigrant textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts had anything like the same conditions as described in *The Jungle*? Everything in *The Jungle* could be true, but the second generalization above ("people in general") could be false. The warning is: "Don't overgeneralize from one case or a small sample."

The information about Slavic Immigrants in the steel industry can help us judge the level of generalization on Slavic Immigrants. In the space below, write what seems to be accurate and/or inaccurate in *The Jungle* in its portrayal of Slavic immigrants:

P - 1 PROGRESSIVISM

RELEVANT INFORMATION ABOUT *THE JUNGLE*

B. INFORMATION ABOUT SLAVIC IMMIGRANTS IN THE STEEL INDUSTRY

From "Slavic Immigrants in the Steel Mills" by David Brody (Historian) in *The Private Side of American History*, pp. 127 - 139.

1. 1900-1915 There were 9.5 million immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe (Slavic peoples).
2. Wages in the Steel industry:
 - A. \$1.50-2.00 per day, which was not enough to support a wife and children.
 - B. A family requires \$15 per week to live. Two-thirds of recent immigrants made less than \$12.50 per week, one-third made less than \$10.00 per week.
 - C. The Pittsburgh Association of Charities found in 1910 that if a steelworker worked 12 hours per day every day of the year, he couldn't provide a family of five with the bare necessities.
 - D. Many families had boarders to supplement their incomes.
3. However:
 - A. Most immigrants were single men who came expecting to go back to Europe in a few years with a lot of money.
 - B. The Immigration Commission reported that one-third of the immigrants were single, and three-fourths of married men who'd been here less than five years had wives abroad. (That is, they were here alone.)
 - C. Immigrants in the steel industry sent home thousands of dollars.
 - D. There were 30,000 immigrants working in the steel industry.
4. Conditions:
 - A. Immigrant: "Here in America, one must work for three horses."
 - B. Hungarian churchman inspecting Pittsburgh steel mills: "Wherever the heat is most insupportable, the flames most scorching, the smoke and soot most choking, there we are certain to find compatriots (other Hungarians) bent and wasted with toil."

P-1 PROGRESSIVISM

- C. Immigrant: "There are different kinds of work, heavy and light, but a man from our country cannot get the light."
 - D. Only the harder men from Europe came.
 - E. Immigrant: "The work is heavy but I don't mind it. Let it be heavy, but may it last without interruption." (Brick factory worker)
 - F. Russian steel laborers in Pittsburgh told an investigator they were glad to work extra days.
 - G. The Pittsburgh Survey, 1909-1914, stated that a majority of Slavic workers voluntarily reported on Sundays in 1907 to clear yards and repair equipment.
 - H. The accident rate for non-English speaking workers at the South Works 1906-1910 was twice the average of all workers.
 - I. Almost one-fourth of recent immigrants in the works each year 3,273 in five years--were injured or killed.
 - J. 127 Eastern Europeans died in steel mills in one year. (Pittsburgh Survey, Volume II - Work Accidents)
 - K. Accidents wiped out savings. Pennsylvania courts ruled that liability statutes did not apply to non-resident aliens. (Owners did not have to pay for injuries to immigrants.)
5. Living Conditions:
- A. Immigrants lived on poor, swampy land called "Hunkey-villes." Steel companies collected 200 % of their investment in shanties (shacks) per year in rents.
 - B. The Pittsburgh Board of Health Report, 1907, described flimsy, beaten shacks with crude sanitary conditions for Slavic immigrants.
 - C. Housing was greatly overcrowded. There were 33 Serbians in five rooms.
 - D. Ignorance made it worse. Immigrants didn't boil water, drank from rivers, and got typhoid.
 - E. Immigrants paid an average of 20 % more per room than English-speaking tenants. Landlords made no repairs.
 - F. Alderman courts fleeced immigrants. On pay day they'd haul immigrants into courts on dubious charges and make them pay fines.
6. Immigration and Emigration Trends and Social Mobility of Immigrants:
- A. When work was good, more immigrants came. When work was bad, many left.

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- B. 1908-1910. 44 Southern and Eastern Europeans left for every 100 that arrived.
- C. Many workers stayed in the U. S. because there were no classes as in Europe and because they achieved upward mobility.

CHART:

No. of years in the U.S.	Skilled	Semiskilled	Unskilled	% of workers making over \$15.00 per week
Under 2 years	0	56	314	under 10 %
2-5 years	17	243	544	under 10 %
5-10 years	79	441	475	13-25 %
over 10 years	184	398	439	20-33 %

*Labor Conditions - U.S. Bureau of Labor,
Report on Conditions of Employment in the Iron and Steel
Industry. Appendix C, 480 ff.*

P - 2A PROGRESSIVISM

- A. (I) "The government could either let the Indians massacre Americans who moved West, or (II) it could wipe out the Indians. (III) Letting the Indians massacre Americans was out of the question. (IV) So, it had to wipe the Indians out."

_____ 1. What is the conclusion? (Where can you put "therefore"?)

- A. I C. III
B. II D. IV

_____ 2. What type of reasoning is this?

- A. Comparison - Harry is a better driver.
B. Sample - It's a bag full of paperclips.
C. Cause and Effect - Jenny is sick because of the ham sandwich.
D. Proof - Theresa and Mary could have thrown ball. But Theresa has no arms. So it must have been Mary.
E. Debating - Harry's argument is wrong.

_____ 3. What is the fallacy? (Look in the "Guide")

- a. Hasty generalization C. Irrelevant proof
B. Single Cause D. Either/or
 E. No fallacy

_____ 4. What word makes a value judgment in the argument?

- A. Government C. West
B. Massacre D. Indians

- B. (I) "President Theodore Roosevelt really had no chance of breaking up the trusts (huge businesses that had too much control over the country). (II) By the time he was president the businesses were already tied together in huge trusts. (III) Trying to break up the trusts was like trying to unscramble the eggs in an omelet."

_____ 5. What is the conclusion ? (Where can you put ("therefore"?)

- A. I C. III
B. II D. Business trusts had more power than did President Roosevelt.

P - 2A PROGRESSIVISM

- _____ 6. What type of reasoning is this primarily? (Look at the descriptions of each type of reasoning given in question 2.)
- A. Comparison C. Cause and Effect
B. Sample D. Proof
 E. Debating
7. For the type of reasoning you listed in question #6, write the key question and explain how well this argument answers this question:
- C. The argument below is rewritten in premise-premise-conclusion form. Notice that the second premise was unstated. This premise is the assumption.

"He can't possibly hurt us since he does not have a knife or gun."

Premise: He does not have a knife or gun.

Preinise (unstated assumption): He can only hurt us with a knife or gun.

Conclusion: Therefore, he can't possibly hurt us.

8. Now, rewrite the argument below in premise-premise-conclusion form. If you get stuck, look at the example above:

"The food industry puts a lot of harmful chemicals in the food we eat. So the government has to step in and prevent them from doing this."

Premise:

Premise (unstated assumption):

Conclusion:

9. What is your opinion of the assumption in #8?
Do you agree or disagree with it?

P - 2B PROGRESSIVISM

- A. (I) "The government could either let the Indians massacre Americans who moved West, or (II) it could wipe out the Indians."

_____ 1. The conclusion is:

- A. I C. The Indians should not have wiped out Americans.
B. II D. The government had to wipe out the Indians.

_____ 2. What type of reasoning is this?

- A. Hasty generalization C. Irrelevant proof
B. Single cause D. Either/or
E. No fallacy

- B. (I) "President Theodore Roosevelt had no chance to succeed in breaking up monopolies (II), since the trend of the times was toward larger and larger business combinations. (III) Big business was so tied together that any attempt to break up a monopoly was like trying to unscramble the eggs in an omelet."

_____ 4. What is the conclusion?

- A. I C. III
B. II D. Business combinations had more power than did President Roosevelt.

_____ 5. What type of reasoning is used in sentence III?

- A. Comparison C. Cause and Effect
B. Sample D. Proof
E. Debating

6. For the type of reasoning you listed in question #5, write the key question and explain how well this argument answers this question.

- C. (I) "Close regulation of the food industry is essential. (II) Mercury in fish, insect filth in processed meats, chemicals added at every turn - contamination is everywhere. (III) Do you expect the food processors to stop this on their own? Why should they? (IV) They make profits at every turn and pay no penalties. (V) They must be responsible."

_____ 7. What is the conclusion?

- A. I C. III
B. II D. IV
E. V

P- 2 B PROGRESSIVISM

8. This is a complex argument involving several assumptions. For the statements below put a check next to those which are assumptions in the argument. Remember that assumptions are unstated:

- _____ a. Some chemicals added to food are bad for people's health.
- _____ b. Closer regulation of the food industry is needed.
- _____ c. People should buy their food at health food stores.
- _____ d. Something which harms the public should be prevented by the government.
- _____ e. Food processors are more interested in profits than stopping contamination.
- _____ f. The government can effectively regulate the food industry.

9. From the assumptions you checked off in #8, with which of the following would the author of this argument probably agree?

- _____ a. The marketplace can solve society's problems.
- _____ b. Humans have the ability to correct problems.
- _____ c. Greed is an important ingredient in human behavior.
- _____ d. Government regulation is harmful to society.
- _____ e. The world is getting better.

P - 3 PROGRESSIVISM

QUESTION: Why did the Populist Party fail in the South in the 1890's?

HISTORIAN A

By the 1890's the upper class Southern whites (called the Bourbons) could see that the poor whites and poor blacks were uniting in the Populist Party. Such an alliance of the poor people would be a threat to Bourbon control in the South. The poor people, through their voting power, could pass legislation detrimental to the rich. So the Bourbons used racism to divide the poor. They got the poor whites to hate the poor blacks.

HISTORIAN B

The main reason why the Populist Party failed in the South in the 1890's was due to racism by poor whites in the Party against poor blacks. There is no evidence that the prejudice came from the rich Bourbons, so we are left with the idea that it was prejudice on the part of the poor whites alone. The poor whites made no attempt to build a strong or lasting alliance between poor white and black Southerners.

1. According to the question at the top of the sheet, what is the main point of
 - a. Historian A?
 - b. Historian B?
2. What are three types of reasoning used by Historian A?
3. Historian B states, "There is no evidence that the prejudice came from the rich Bourbons" to prove the point that the Bourbons did not cause the prejudice. How strong is this argument?
4. What kind of information would help us decide which of these two historians is correct?
 - a.
 - b.
5. On what points do the two historians agree?
 - a.
 - b.

P - 4 PROGRESSIVISM

HISTORIAN A

(I) One of the main things driving the Progressive Movement was the discovery, around 1900, that big business interests were corrupting politics in their effort for special privileges. (II) The outraged public acted to reform the situation. (III) The Progressives moved to clean up the government and then to use government to clean up (through regulation) business.

(IV) There is abundant evidence to show this trend. (V) The autobiographies of the leading progressives, such as Theodore Roosevelt, Robert LaFollette, and Lincoln Steffens, detail how their authors awakened to the corrupt alliance of business and government.¹ (VI) Muckraking magazines, which exposed the corruption, increased their circulations tremendously during this time. (VII) The newspaper editorials condemning big business privilege also show the public's concern with the issue.

(VIII) The result of this focus of the public's attention was progressive legislation to reform big business practices.

¹ Theodore Roosevelt, *An Autobiography* (New York, 1913), 85-86; Robert LaFollette, *LaFollette's Autobiography: A Personal Narrative of Political Experiences* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1960), 3-97; Lincoln Steffens, *The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens* (New York, 1931), 357-627.

HISTORIAN B

(I) For years historians have stated that an important part of the Progressive Movement was the drive by an outraged public to stop the corruption of government by big business. (II) This view has misled us about the causes, intentions and results of progressive reforms. (III) Actually, the Progressive Movement did much to encourage big business.

(IV) While some people in the Progressive Movement were upset by business corruption in politics and wanted reform, this was not an all-important goal. (V) First, corruption in government was certainly nothing new. (VI) Americans had always known that it existed. (VII) Second, the Progressive Movement was made up of more than just the poor people who were fed up with rich business privileges. (VIII) There were several diverse groups in the movement, including businessmen and professionals, who wanted to help business, not control it.

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(IX) When one looks at the results of the Progressive reforms against business, the picture becomes much clearer. (X) For what the Progressives set up were regulatory agencies to watch over business. (XI) These agencies were set up just like corporations, with groups of people working together (called bureaucracies). (XII) So, the Progressives actually accelerated the trend toward bigness by making government more like big business.

(XIII) Moreover, the regulatory agencies set up by the Progressives were controlled by business for the benefit of business. (XIV) The Progressive reforms looked like an attack on business when, in fact, the new laws actually were passed by businessmen to help business to operate more efficiently.

HISTORIAN C

(I) At first, historians believed that the Progressive Movement passed business reforms in order to control business, because the people were outraged by corruption in business and government. (II) Then, a different group of historians argued that the Progressive reforms were passed by businessmen in order to help business. (III) These historians said the reforms actually speeded up the trend toward the corporate form which has dominated our society in the twentieth century. (IV) To these historians, the reforms were passed to satisfy the people so they would leave business alone.

(V) Most historians accept the second interpretation. (VI) However, the evidence shows that the average people really were upset by reports of corruption and the reforms really were to control business.

(VII) Americans had always believed that the government should give no special privileges to any individuals or groups. (VIII) People knew that government could be a breeding ground for corruption. (IX) While there had been reports of scandals and corruption in government in the nineteenth century, the abuses disclosed in the first decade of the twentieth century were of an entirely different magnitude. (X) Muckraking articles revealed corruption in almost every area of government and business. (XI) What occurred to many Americans was that the sheer size of big business was causing more serious problems. (XII) Industrialism, it seemed, had

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made business larger and stronger than government, making it easy for business to use government for its own special privileges. (XIII) Progressives believed that reforms had to be passed to help the government control business rather than the other way around.

(XIV) The evidence strongly indicates that it was the public's perception of big business corruption which led to the reforms. (XV) The great bulk of muckraking articles on corruption were published in 1905 and 1906. (XVI) Scandal after scandal was revealed in national magazines, local newspapers, and legislative halls across the country. (XVII) The result was that party platforms and political leaders in general emphasized the issue in the years that followed. (XVIII) Everyone, it seemed, was now concerned with business corruption of government.² (XIX) The table below shows the dramatic increase in legislation by state governments to regulate business in the period after the muckraking articles:

TABLE 1
SELECTED CATEGORIES OF STATE LEGISLATION
1903-08

Type of Legislation	1903-04	1905-06	1907-08	1903-08
Regulation of Lobbying	0	2	10	12
Prohibition of Corporate Campaign Contributions	0	3	19	22
Regulation or Prohibition of Free Railroad Passes for Public Officials	4	6	14	24
Mandatory Direct Primary	4	9	18	31
Regulation of Railroad Corporation by Commission	5	8	28	41
Totals	13	28	89	130

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NOTE: Figures represent the number of states that passed legislation in the given category during the specified years.

SOURCE: New York Library, *Index of Legislation* (Albany, N.Y., 1904-09).

(XX) It is true that the main result of these reforms was to actually help business. (XXI) Once government agencies were set up, the public lost interest in the reforms. (XXII) In the meantime, businessmen gained control of the positions on the regulatory agencies, which is natural, since the businesses had the most interest in the regulations. (XXIII) The bureaucratic agencies accelerated the trend toward the corporate form, which also helped business in the long run. (XXIV) This does not mean, however, that the reforms were a fake passed by businessmen to help themselves and to placate the public. (XXV) The evidence shows that the Progressive business reforms were passed by a public outraged by the perceived corruption of government by big business. (XXVI) The fact that the reforms actually helped business should not lead us to the conclusion that the reforms were not originally passed to control business.

1 Dewey W. Grantham, Jr., "The Progressive Era and the Reform Tradition," *Mid-America*, 46 (1964), 224-35.

2 Examples: Republican platform, 1906: The Party was opposed to "the domination of corporate influences in public affairs." Democratic platform, 1906: "We favor the complete elimination of railway and other public service corporations from the politics of the state."

P - 5 PROGRESSIVISM

INTRODUCTION TO THE OMAHA PLATFORM

The Populist Party of the 1890's was made up of farmers. It first ran candidates for president and other national offices in the election of 1892.

In order to organize itself for an election and in order to nominate (choose) candidates to run for office, political parties hold conventions. Conventions also write party platforms which state the party's positions on a number of issues. For example, in a platform a party might state that it:

- Opposes gun control
- Favors a new tax law to reduce taxes
- Favors putting more U.S. troops into a certain country
- Opposes arms talk with our enemies
- Favors more government help for business

and so forth.

A Party Platform can tell us something about the party and its positions. Read the Omaha Platform written by the Populists at their convention in 1892 and then answer the questions that your teacher gives (or asks) you.

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THE OMAHA PLATFORM

The Populist Party Platform was written in 1892 at Omaha, Nebraska. What follows is a summary by the author of this booklet of the original platform.

We meet (in Omaha) as our nation is on the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. The rich and the bankers control the money in the country for their own greed. Our present system has led to two classes — tramps and millionaires.

We have seen for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties (the Democrats and Republicans) for power and plunder (theft, robbery). Meanwhile terrible wrongs have been inflicted on the suffering people. Both parties have allowed these dreadful wrongs to develop without any effort to prevent them. The two major parties are dominated by greed, corruption, and rich people.

We declare therefore,

- I. Labor forces are hereby united to uplift mankind.
- II. Wealth belongs to him who creates it (the workers, not the owner).
- III. The industrial worker and the farmer have the same interests and the same enemies.
- IV. The people should own the railroads through the government.
- V. The government alone should control the money supply, and not the bankers.
- VI. There should be free and unlimited coinage of silver in a ratio of 16 to 1 compared to gold.
- VII. There should be a graduated income tax. (As income goes up, the tax rate goes up. For example, if you make \$10,000 you might pay 5 %, or \$500, tax; if you make \$20,000 you might pay 10%, or \$2,000, tax. You pay a larger share of a larger income.)
- VIII. The government should own and operate the telephone and telegraph (the carriers of news) in the interests of the people.

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- IX. The land, including the natural resources in the land, belongs to the people. It should not be controlled by speculators (a speculator is someone who buys something expecting to sell it at an unusually large profit), and aliens (non-citizen foreigners) should not be able to own it. Land owned by aliens and railroads should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers.
- X. The government should limit immigration into the U.S.
- XI. There should be a shorter work week for laborers.
- XII. The secret ballot should be used in all elections.
- XIII. The people should be able to use the initiative (private individuals could propose laws) and referendum (citizens could express an opinion on an issue by voting on it on the ballot).
- XIV. Senators should be elected directly by the people. (At this time, Senators to the U.S. Senate were elected by state legislatures, not by citizens directly.)
- XV. The president of the U.S. should be able to serve one four-year term only.

RELEVANT INFORMATION

- A. Free coinage of silver would have increased the supply of money. An increase in the supply of money would generally lead to inflation (higher prices).
- B. Farmers had tried several times to use the government to regulate (control) the railroads in the interest of the farmers.
- C. A person who owes money (a debtor) generally benefits from inflation. This is because the amount of money he/she has to repay remains fixed (let's say \$100 per year) while his/her income from selling goods or services generally rises with inflation (let's say from \$150 in the first year to \$160 in the second year).
- D. A person who is owed money (a creditor - often a banker) generally dislikes inflation. This is because he/she will be paid back a fixed amount of money which will buy fewer goods and services as prices increase.
- E. Most Populists were farmers.
- F. Many industrial unions opposed immigration into the U.S.